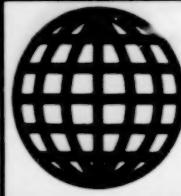


JPRS-UPA-88-045  
5 OCTOBER 1988



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# ***JPRS Report***

## **Soviet Union**

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***Political Affairs***

# Soviet Union Political Affairs

JPRS-UPA-88-045

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5 OCTOBER 1988

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**Kiev Obkom Chief Discusses Party Organs, Cadres, Elections**  
18000633 Kiev RABOCHAYA GAZETA in Russian  
28 July 88 p 2

[Article by G. Revenko, first secretary, Kiev Obkom: "It Is Time for Practical Action"]

[Text] Each day and hour that is lived after the party conference reminds us with special force that it is necessary to act energetically and assertively now, not waiting for new directions and instructions.

The essence of the moment, in my opinion, can be expressed by Lenin's words, which were spoken in 1921, also at a turning point in our history: "The time when it was necessary to portray great tasks politically has passed, and the time has come when it is necessary to carry them out practically."

What is of greatest concern? The deep-rooted conservatism in the thinking and actions of cadres, bureaucratic perversions of the essence of the transformations. On the one hand you constantly run into hot-headedness and dissatisfaction with the tempos of perestroika and its actual results for people's lives and on the other hand the dangerous psychology that can be expressed by the formula: "You go ahead, and I shall get on board later, if it will be profitable for me."

It is my firm conviction that these are precisely the brake shoes that can only be released by the force of example of the party and the power of the hostility of citizens to everything that hampers our movement forward. Today we have a strong feeling that we are not getting very deep in the essence of phenomena, but rather we are getting entangled in something.

For example, how many very correct words have been used up about the need to increase the role of the primary party organizations and yet how poorly and unspecifically we engage in this. In preparing the report of the Borodinskiy Raykom regarding the leadership of these basic party links an attempt was made to approach the analysis in a new way. All the members of the obkom buro went out to the rayon and acquainted themselves with the situation on the spot. Their personal observations were supplemented with the results of surveys of the party aktiv.

In the course of study the conclusion was reached to hold the session of the bureau outside the usual place. And it must be said that there was good reason for this. The results of the inquiry were unsettling, since almost one-third of the secretaries of primary organizations indicated that they were unwilling to carry out this assignment, and six secretaries admitted that they were elected by chance.

Almost two-thirds of those surveyed admitted that perestroika is little felt in their organizations. One evidence of the lack of initiative of the party members was the fact that during the past two years every third member of the

party did not speak up in the party organization of the Klavdiye experimental plant, and in the kolkhoz Nove Zhitta 32 out of 48 party members did not.

All the secretaries of the primary organizations were invited to the buro of the obkom, and many of them were afforded the opportunity to speak out, which made it possible to compare the opinions of the checkers and those being checked. The members of the obkom who prepared this question supervised the implementation of the decision that was adopted.

It is obvious that new approaches must be confirmed first of all in conducting party meetings and plenums. Too much organizational scum was generated here. Let us look at matters with our eyes open: discussions and non-standard agenda have practically disappeared from party life (from the primary organizations to the obkom). Many people are afraid to go to a meeting without a previously agreed presidium, list of speakers and draft decisions. Overcautiousness is triggered: making sure that nothing gets out of hand.

Obviously what is needed is a situation in which every party worker and activist would be certain that his creative efforts will be supported, met with understanding, and possible costs would not give rise to negative consequences for him.

After consultation with the aktiv it was decided long before the conference to conduct a social-political certification of the party members. The intent of this work we saw in relying on the healthy forces in the primary organizations that were willing and able to rectify themselves to activate the party ranks and reestablish a Leninist understanding of party membership as the main condition of its strength and authority. We instructed the party organizations that the certification must proceed democratically, publicly, in plain view of non-party members and with the participation of the whole party membership, so as in no case to permit the settling of old scores, a campaign psychology and formalism.

The democratic approach is necessary as air also in such a key party question as the selection of new recruits. How much we have lost in organization and order in the blind pursuit of favorable statistics! Many active workers who are devoted to the cause from the ranks of specialists and the intelligentsia have remained outside the party. At the same time not infrequently casual people without firm convictions and even with careerist tendencies have found their way into our ranks.

It would seem, what more is needed? Act in the spirit of the last party directives, check those entering the party primarily through the labor collectives. And nevertheless many are waiting for additional instructions. For example, in the second quarter of 1988 only in 122 cases (17.2 percent) were the applications of newly accepted members preliminarily considered in the labor collectives, and in many rayons this practice is not used at all.

In addition unusual situations arise in which it is necessary to help local party workers find an answer. "What should we do, we already have about thirty applications for party membership from engineers and technical and office workers and not one from a laborer?" the organizational chief of the Pereyaslav-Khmelnitskiy Gorkom recently asked the obkom. It was necessary to consider these questions separately at a meeting with the first secretaries of the gorkoms and raykoms. It is important that all applications be considered demandingly and in a principled manner.

It is understandable that the democratic content to a large extent will be determined by the reciprocal relations between the elected organs and the party apparatus. In our opinion serious corrective measures are needed here, and we have already done a little bit. For example, it has become a rule that members of the obkom, gorkoms and raykoms participate directly in the preparation of questions and development of decisions. Each time that questions are prepared for the plenums of the bureau, commissions are formed from among the members of the party committee, which study the situation thoroughly and report their opinion. And then they organize and verify the implementation of the decisions that were taken. At all recent plenums of the obkom working groups were formed, which verified the implementation of the critical remarks and proposals that were voiced.

Speaking frankly, however, the former concepts of the strength of the apparatus and its command over the elected organs are still very strong. For example, we tried openly to ascertain the opinion of the members of the obkom about the work of the departments of industry, construction, agriculture and the food industry. In the reports at the plenums by the first secretaries of raykoms who had studied this question timidly, the predominance of positive evaluations and the striving "not to spoil relations" were clearly visible.

Therefore it seems desirable to form permanent commissions on basic trends made up of members and candidate members of the party committee and headed by the secretaries, with the heads and workers of departments acting as a working group. This, it is thought, will permit putting all in their places: the elected organ is to determine the policy and make decisions, and the apparatus is to organize their implementation.

We have become convinced that it is necessary more actively to broaden the channels for communicating with people. Along with direct telephone contact, meetings and answers to questions in labor collectives the first political information centers and discussion clubs appeared at the initiative of the party committees. On the eve of the conference the department of organizational party work of the obkom jointly with the editorial staff of the newspaper KIIVSKA PRAVDA conducted travelling sessions of the "Club of Frank Thoughts" in the city of Belya Tserkov and the Baryshevskiy and Tarashchanskiy rayons. It was not easy, for example for

the first secretary of the Tarashchanskiy Raykom, N. M. Grigorenko, to answer direct questions: when will the raykom stop acting in place of the RAPO and when will the farms be granted the proper independence? What are the party organizations planning to do for improving the working conditions of the secretaries of the primary party organizations, especially those who have not been relieved from their primary work. There is a lesson here: today people are concerned about literally everything, it is impossible to make secrets out of party work.

At present we are thinking through the question of how to conduct a discussion among the party aktiv with the most beneficial results as to what it means for the party committee to act with political methods today.

Perestroyka brings new aspects to cadre work. Time has confirmed the correctness of the line worked out at the January Plenum of the CPSU Central Committee for glasnost and the election of leaders at all levels. This process is growing consistently also in the oblast party organization. Today more than two thousand leaders of different ranks, or almost 90 percent of the total number of those replaced, were elected by means of open discussion.

For example, the instructor of the department of industry of the obkom, A. N. Penkovyy, underwent a rigorous competitive selection process and was elected head of the Fastov refrigerator depot. The competition commission received four applications, including the chief engineer and two senior foremen. All of the candidates were afforded the same opportunity to prepare well and present their programs to the collective. How did A. N. Penkovyy attract people to support him? Doubtless they remembered him well for his recent work as a mechanic, a secretary of the komsomol committee and full-time secretary of the party committee of the depot and knew his competence, initiative and honesty. The decisive role, however, was played by the well thought out program of concrete actions that he proposed.

The collective supported the idea of introducing informal economic accountability on the basis of scientific and technical progress, the creation of their own construction facilities and the construction of housing on a contractual basis, the democratization of selection of mid-level executives and other ideas. It must be said too that during the past four months of work the first changes are already noticeable: all of the line executives received a vote of confidence through open elections, and, what is most important, a consolidation of the collective took place, and a positive attitude toward things was manifested.

We see that most of those who are elected rather than appointed have greater responsibility and things go better. The climate in the collectives has improved. In this regard people as a rule entrust the leadership to competent workers who propose a clear program of action, above all in social questions.

The instructor of the department of agriculture and the food industry of the obkom, A. N. Gorbaltov, applied for independent work and was unanimously elected chairman of the kolkhoz. The head of the agricultural department of the Belotserkovskiy Raykom, V.G. Sadovoy, became deputy general director of the agroindustrial combine Ros, etc.

The fact that during the past two years out of 106 party workers who had been recommended for election as economic leaders 8 candidates were rejected, however, compels one to ponder. Their poor knowledge of the problems of the collective made itself felt, they were not able to explain their program intelligently and they lacked authority.

When setting about the formation of a new type of party apparatus we plan to pursue the path of competitive selection of workers at all levels on the basis of the recommendations of the primary party organizations and labor collectives. We want to have an apparatus such that labor collectives will strive to obtain a party worker as an executive.

As far as the roster of cadres designated by the party is concerned the concept of its significance and role must obviously be changed radically. Without equivocation we consider that it is necessary and does not limit the opportunity to resolve local cadre questions in a democratic manner. But this must not be a fixed group of positions that are a monopoly of party committees but rather an open, mobile aktiv, what I would call the cadre vanguard of the party organization through which the political directives are put into practice.

The thing is that to a large degree the future course of the collective lease contract and economic accountability and the extent to which there will be success in revitalizing the feeling of being a manager in people depends on the democratic situation in the material sphere today. I shall cite an example. Many times the laborers in the photogravure shop of the Kiev cardboard and paper combine approached the director and the chief specialists with the request that they be transferred to economic accountability and that work be evaluated according to the coefficient of labor input. These legitimate demands met open obstruction, however, and the laborers were forced to write to PRAVDA. When the workers of the obkom delved into the situation it turned out that the reservations and references by the enterprise executives to the unpreparedness of the laborers themselves for the new productive relationships were groundless. In the course of a few months there was accomplished what had not been done for two years.

It is understandable that the new conditions of management put the executives and secretaries of party organizations in an awkward position. Material and technical supply seriously lets people down, and unjustified economic norms oppress them. Work with subordinates no longer can be based on commands and crude shouting.

As never before much is resolved by energy, entrepreneurial spirit and intelligent work with people. This does not come easily for everyone.

Now we are carefully analyzing and watching how the party leaders behave in the new situation. For the most part they have found their place, act creatively and show initiative. But not all of them. Those who thought they could get by with their old intellectual baggage wound up as failures, and others simply became confused in the conditions of differences of opinions and the increasing activeness of people.

In the course of reports on the perestroika of the party organizations some such secretaries were relieved. Now we see our task as continuing work on strengthening the composition of the party aktiv. Thus the Mironovskiy Raykom conducted an inquiry in party organizations in order to reveal the real, informal leaders among the party members. Here the opinion about the candidacy of secretaries of party organizations is ascertained ahead of time at party meetings. The Vyshegorodskiy Raykom without waiting for the election conference is studying the verdicts of party members concerning the secretaries who head the departments of the raykom in order to give fuller well-reasoned evaluations in the summary report and take into account constructive suggestions for improving their work in the future.

In brief, the party committees are already concerned about selecting party members for the elective organs not for representation and feigned unanimity but rather really talented fighters who have authority and are devoted to the cause of perestroika.

Today the time is saturated to the limit and filled with new concerns. Meetings in labor collectives after the conference provided an opportunity to feel better the life, assessments and moods of people. The activeness and sharp reaction to everything that hinders our movement forward is gratifying. It is important that the socio-economic results achieved in the oblast, which on the whole are not bad, are perceived critically, without a shade of complacency.

What is needed now is to carry out the decisions adopted by the conference in intense and continuous work.

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#### Events Leading to Ossetian Party Chief's Dismissal Examined

18130134 Tbilisi KOMUNISTI in Georgian 6 May 88 p 3

[Unattributed report: "What Happened in Tskhinvali? When People Try To Live and Work in the Old Manner"; first four paragraphs are source introduction]

[Excerpts] As readers are aware, a few days ago the Georgian Communist Party Central Committee discussed the issue

**"Serious Shortcomings in the Social-Economic Development of the South Ossetian Autonomous Oblast and Additional Measures To Eradicate Them."** In its decree, the Georgian Communist Party Central Committee focused special attention on the very difficult and substantial problems in the matter of meeting the social and consumer service needs of South Ossetia's population and the development of its economy.

The Buro of the Georgian Communist Party Central Committee judged the efforts of the South Ossetian Obkom and Oblispolkom to be unsatisfactory in this regard and approved the decision of the South Ossetian Obkom's April 1988 Plenum to dismiss Obkom First Secretary F. S. Sanakoyev, a decision that was correct, in keeping with the times, and in the spirit of perestroyka.

But what happened in Tskhinvali?

No one was surprised when hundreds of people assembled on the square in front of the obkom building. It was as if everyone expected it.

Among the banners you could pick out one which read: "We Demand Worthy Leadership!"

This expressed very well the attitude of the participants in this impromptu rally toward those who were responsible for the many shortcomings in the autonomous oblast.

It is said that on the first day, when the people were milling around on the square, this poster appeared: "Save Our Children!"

This already went beyond mere dissatisfaction over consumer conditions. It was a sign of fear that if this style of work and leadership persisted in the oblast it would be a bad thing for the younger generation.

The straw that broke the camel's back, however, was the epidemic of typhoid which broke out in the city of Tskhinvali. This event evoked broad public reaction and the people's overt dissatisfaction with the actions of the local authorities, who manifested complete apathy toward the Tskhinvalians' communal needs and, generally, social and consumer services, which have bothered the oblast's inhabitants for some time.

It became known that the source of the typhoid outbreak was the water line supplying the capital city of the autonomous oblast.

Officials of the republic Health Ministry's Sanitation and Epidemiology Center had repeatedly asked the obkom and the oblispolkom to take the necessary measures to halt the drainage of contaminated water into the Kekhvi pipeline, which could become a source of infectious diseases, but they received no response. Also to be noted is the fact that the obkom leadership already had warning signs to pay more attention to the population's

health and consumer services: the total number of patients suffering from acute intestinal disorders in the oblast is twice as high as the average republic figure. And isn't it disturbing to note that the equipment in the Kekhvi pipeline treatment station has not been changed or overhauled in several decades? In the Didi Liakhvi River Sanitation Zone, entry to which is generally forbidden, construction workers set up camp and threw garbage and all kinds of construction wastes right into the water.

No one paid any attention to that either.

The appropriate offices in the Georgian SSR Health Ministry and the autonomous oblast issued warning after warning to the oblast party and soviet leadership about possible disasters, but they got no response.

Oblast officials displayed olympian calm. And this extreme disregard and criminal apathy resulted in what we might expect.

Was the pipeline the only problem in South Ossetia? No!

We can say with certainty that the water pipeline was the final drop in the Ossetian population's cup of patience.

The relevant organizations failed to properly monitor and pay close attention to problems in trade services of the population of Tskhinvali and South Ossetia as a whole. They failed to pay proper attention to the matter of supplying the people with agricultural goods.

An important sector like providing the working people with housing came to be in an incredible state.

In Tskhinvali you will meet families who have been on the waiting list for over a quarter century, patiently waiting for an apartment. Despite the allocation of the necessary capital investments, the pace of apartment construction is extremely slow. Annually, on the average, 180 apartments are completed, but there are 2,500 families on the waiting list. For years on end there is practically no progress in agriculture, and commodity turnover plans remain chronically unfulfilled.

Economics and ideology work go hand in hand. If they become separated, naturally, things become vague, practical steps are underestimated, and precedents arise for drawing incorrect conclusions.

At the spontaneous rallies, people repeatedly complained that for example, neighboring Gori Rayon is much better supplied than Tskhinvali and the rayon centers of the oblast. The people thought that the relevant republic organizations are not distributing goods equally.

But the real picture is different.

The republic's Trade Ministry in 1987 allocated goods per capita to the autonomous oblast as follows: 39.4 kilograms of meat, 3.5 kilograms of cheese, 78.6 kilograms of total dairy products, 6.8 kilograms of butter, and 122 eggs.

As for such products as macaroni, groats, sugar, vegetable oil, margarine, mineral water, confections, and so on, the oblast's trade network, as a rule, was to receive them according to requisition and need; no problem there—needs are met according to demand. But, because of inefficiency, the responsible service failed to deliver the goods to local consumers, and the working people were justifiably angered.

Now let's take a look at figures showing what "privileges" the Trade Ministry accords Gori Rayon over Tskhinvali. Again in 1987, the republic's Trade Ministry allocated per capita to Gori and Gori Rayon the following average amounts: 25.3 kilograms of meat, 40.1 kilograms of total dairy products, 1.7 kilograms of cheese, 6 kilograms of butter and 100 eggs.

Commentary, one might say, is superfluous.

Let us turn once more to aspects of ideology work. We cannot ignore the fact that failure to take account of the demands of perestroika, inadequate glasnost, old-style thinking, inertia, and inefficiency have brought it about that the oblast leadership has drifted away from the masses, has failed to provide them with normal consumer services and working conditions. They have failed to consult with the public and provide explanations. This has enabled tongue-waggers to make irresponsible and groundless statements.

For this reason, caution is essential, officials of the autonomous oblast must not allow a problem to be created out of nothing, a mountain out of a molehill.

The strategy of perestroika cannot stand apathy, dependence on others, failure to take account of the working people's opinions and interests.

In recent years, problems of the South Ossetian Autonomous Oblast's economic and cultural development have always been at the center of attention of the Georgian Communist Party Central Committee and the Georgian SSR Council of Ministers. Suffice it to say that three joint decrees have been passed in this regard, and important measures have been carried out to promote the oblast's social-economic development. Unfortunately, however, hopes that these measures would pay off have not been completely realized.

The question arises, wasn't there a single person among the oblast's leadership who could take the initiative to implement measures called for in decrees passed by the Georgian Communist Party Central Committee and the republic's Council of Ministers, which would have spared the population these deplorable consequences?

There were such people, of course, but they probably didn't have the right to do anything, because one man—the obkom first secretary—took everything upon himself. And he was lacking in such qualities as consideration for people, for meeting their needs.

Attitudes toward the obkom and its first secretary were well expressed in the demands which the students of Tskhinvali's K. Khetagurov State Pedagogical Institute submitted during those days to the oblast leadership. It is surely intolerable for the institute not to have a proper sports facility or laboratories with the necessary instruments or equipment. Moreover, in order to fulfill course requirements they are obliged to go to libraries in Tbilisi and miss classes in their own institute.

The obkom was repeatedly notified about this. A very principled discussion was held last year in the Georgian Communist Party Central Committee Buro, during which the obkom's report concerning progress in perestroika was heard. Severe criticism was also voiced at the latest Georgian Communist Party Central Committee Plenum. It seems that F. Sanakoyev and other Ossetian leaders had got very good at making promises. But they didn't have time to draw the necessary conclusions or take specific action.

These serious shortcomings are due mainly to the outmoded work methods of the oblast party organization's local officials and organs. It is unfortunate that they have not kept pace with the times, they have failed to take account of the needs of perestroika, and this underestimation on their part has brought about the development of incorrect moods and attitudes in public life and conditions for unhealthy tendencies.

The Georgian Communist Party Central Committee decree rightly and objectively states that wait-and-see attitudes toward emerging problems, empty talk, dependence on others, and lack of consistency have placed oblast officials in a very troubled and unfortunate position, which has evoked the South Ossetian working people's justified anger and dissatisfaction.

Naturally, the Georgian Communist Party Central Committee and the Georgian Council of Ministers took quick action to create a state commission, which has carried out emergency measures.

The 22 April Obkom Plenum at which F. Sanakoyev was dismissed was attended by Georgian Communist Party Central Committee First Secretary Dzh. Patiashvili.

Naturally, everything possible is being done to see to it that the population of the autonomous oblast is provided with all the necessary conditions for normal life and labor.

The typhoid epidemic in Tskhinvali is gradually abating. A large group of qualified specialists is working in the

city, and everything possible is being done to restore the victims to full health.

The Georgian Communist Party Central Committee and the Council of Ministers have passed a new decree on urgent measures for the further social-economic development of the South Ossetian Autonomous Oblast.

The decree calls for giving the autonomous oblast the necessary funds, equipment, and machinery and directs the relevant organizations to take timely steps to ensure improvement in the oblast's economy and culture—and, what is most important, regain people's trust.

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**Counterpropaganda Urged to Combat VOA Armenian Broadcasts**

18300371 Yerevan PO LENINSKOMU PUTI in Russian No 4, Apr 88, pp 74-81

[Article by Levon Bagdasarovich Bagdasaryan, deputy editor-in-chief of the journal PO LENINSKOMU PUTI, candidate of philological sciences: "The Mass Information Media in the Contemporary Struggle of Ideas"]

[Text] The 27th CPSU Congress, having defined a scientifically substantiated strategy for accelerating the country's socioeconomic development and achieving a qualitatively new state of Soviet society, pointed to the need to restructure all spheres of the society's vital activities: economic, political, and spiritual. "Accelerating the country's socioeconomic development is the key to all our problems: immediate and long-range, economic and social, political and ideological, domestic and foreign," M. S. Gorbachev observed in the Political Report of the CPSU Central Committee to the party congress.

Accomplishing the tasks set out by the 27th CPSU Congress makes it paramount to activate the human factor, "the decisive factor in all changes," and that, in turn, presupposes restructuring of propaganda work in the struggle against stagnation phenomena and tendencies, for democratization of all spheres of social life, and to overcome the gap between word and deed. The party documents of recent years have disclosed and analyzed the causes of stagnation phenomena in the economy and in social life. The January 1987 Plenum of the CPSU Central Committee observed that "the roots of this retardation lie in serious shortcomings in the functioning of the institutions of socialist democracy, in outdated and sometimes unrealistic political and theoretical principles, and in a conservative management mechanism."

The unfavorable trends and difficulties in the country's development, the lack of glasnost, the shortage of socially significant information, "half-truth," and "zones beyond criticism" led to serious difficulties in propaganda work because a retreat into social passivity and alienation of people from participation in deciding questions involving their vital interests became noticeable in various strata of society.

The theoretical and political principles based on erroneous, dogmatic ideas were conveyed to social consciousness above all through the tool of the mass information, which promoted the creation of a certain "background of distrust" for both reports that diverged from reality and the channels that disseminated them. In this situation difficulties occurred in producing and disseminating mass views, because the information coming from social institutions and establishments collided with barriers to perception and the critical attitude of the individual.

Naturally, the "shortage" of information that occurred in society was filled through interpersonal communication and by turning to foreign sources. Vast streams of

the most unbelievable rumors, fabrications, and speculation concerning the activities of certain people, organizations, and spheres circulated in different social groups. The rumors arising in a certain region quickly spread to the whole society. Some of them appear to have been prepared and launched by Western propaganda centers, which took full advantage of any opportunity for ideological penetration. Even now, when openness and glasnost have been established and the mass information channels produce reports on practically all spheres of our society's vital activities and on foreign countries, there remain some information "niches" which are filled by the mechanism of propagating rumors. Studying the information needs and interests of the population will help identify and fill these "niches" in time. At the same time the mass information media must overcome the attitude, which has taken root in a certain part of the population, that rumors are a channel for transmission of socially significant information. It appears that the over-intellectualized reports and commentaries which the mass communications media tend to use collide with certain psychological barriers in information perception. At the same time the circulation of rumors is linked to compensation mechanisms in the psychology of the socially passive individual.

When rumors are spread the factor of having access to a "scarce item," in this case information, is triggered and underlines the importance of the person who has the scarce item. The rumors used in broadcasts by foreign radio stations take on a shade of reliability and, most likely, the increase in the number of persons who refer to alternative sources of information, which was confirmed by many researchers during the period of stagnation, is linked precisely to the need to possess scarce, prestigious information, not socially significant information.

During the period of stagnation a definite lag in the quality of domestic goods and services behind foreign models became apparent and the danger was noted that the influence of the West's so-called sociological propaganda might increase. By means of this propaganda "a certain society tries to draw in the largest possible number of individuals, standardize the behavior of members according to models, spread its way of life abroad, and in this way impose it on other groups" ("Psichologicheskaya voyna" [Psychological War], an anthology under the editorship of V. N. Kozyrev, Moscow, Progress, 1972, pp 282-283). A number of western specialists, noting the United States' strong sociological propaganda, equate it with spread of the "American way of life," which is the only way of life being propagated on a broad scale in the West today. The widespread Americanization of life in the Western countries and penetration of the influence of American culture into the national cultures is explained above all by the effectiveness of American sociological propaganda. American specialists consider movies and television programs the best form of propaganda for American culture and the American way of life and therefore note that, in regions

of the USSR where it is possible to receive television broadcasts from the capitalist countries, the role of sociological propaganda increases.

Estonian sociologists, who were the first in the country to confront a change in the regional communications field, pointed out the importance of ideological penetration by means of sociological propaganda using cross-border television channels. It is notable that now economists too have directed attention to the fact that the failure of industry to fill customers' orders and the orientation to numerical indicators "lead, ultimately, to dissatisfaction of customers, who prefer imported footwear and often—why hide it?"—the ideals that are imported with them, related to consumption and behavior" (G. Popov, "The Economic Mechanism of Management," NAUKA I ZHIZN, 1987, no 11, p 58). Therefore, we cannot disregard the possibility that cross-border television, advertising American standards, is becoming an active channel for penetration of American sociological propaganda into our republic.

These factors have resulted in an intensification of counterpropaganda in ideological activity. In the years before April 1985 counterpropaganda was directed at providing more information to particular groups of propagandists and workers in the mass information media, even though certain questions related to the functioning of democratic institutions in society and with economic development were not properly evaluated. Counterpropaganda was "cosmetic" in character. Instead of well-documented criticism counterpropaganda used accusatory generalizations addressed against the manipulative tricks of the enemy.

It should be recognized<sup>4</sup> that bourgeois propaganda manipulated the facts presented by our reality quite skillfully and, for example, used facts on stagnation phenomena in our country's economy to try to prove one of their fundamental theses about the "bankruptcy of the socialist method of production." The topics of "difficulties being experienced in the USSR," "low labor productivity," and "poor organization of agriculture" predominated in reports and commentaries on the Soviet economy. Various "voices" waged fire against the main target, socialism, trying to discredit the Soviet way of life and distort the situation in the USSR. In Voice of America broadcasts in Armenian, for example, the most intensively employed subjects in the recent past have been "human rights in the USSR," "broad Western support for dissenters in the USSR," "the rights of small nations," and "anti-Semitism in the USSR." A number of subjects have been dedicated to the economy of capitalism. The broadcasts have noted the economic difficulties of the Western countries, including the United States, and numerous times commented on the dollar's decline in currency markets. At the same time they have systematically conveyed the idea that economic difficulties are not reflected in the well-being of Americans, that despite the price rise in the United States "the share of expenditures for food and housing does not exceed half of family income."

It may be considered typical of bourgeois propaganda in the recent past that it tries to fill in the "information vacuum" with its own version of the event or phenomena and takes up subjects and problems about which domestic sources of information have been silent. In this way it is interesting for a certain part of the audience.

Bourgeois propaganda has been using this shortcoming in our information for a long time now. As early as 1967 Professor Ya. Zasurskiy observed that "a study of the content of our press and other mass information media led Western propagandists to the idea that our press does not provide the population with adequate information about events abroad, but especially about events within the country. Therefore the Voice of America and other centers of propaganda against the USSR have in their propaganda activity begun to devote more attention to information and try to give informative reports faster and more fully than our press."

The beneficial changes that took place in our country after the April 1975 Plenum of the CPSU Central Committee—the new approaches to problems of economic and social development, democratic processes, the functioning of society's political institutions, and others—caused major problems in the activity of bourgeois propaganda. The development of glasnost and publication of information on a number of questions which were not mentioned in the past removed the soil that nourished a whole set of subjects and problems which bourgeois propaganda had specialized in for years. Now the ideological enemy, admitting that serious changes are taking place in the USSR, is focusing attention on upcoming difficulties and trying to cast doubt on the possibility of intensified economic development with the socialist method of production. The successes of our country in the last 70 years are explained by the fact that it is a "command" economy in which there is rigid centralization. They cast doubt on the possibility that socialism can activate the human factor and on the determining role of the individual in economic development. And they conclude (again firing at the main target) that socialism as a system is inefficient, and so it cannot handle the existing difficulties.

The Law on Individual Labor Activity adopted in the USSR was broadly covered in reports by the bourgeois propaganda centers. Commentators saw it as authorizing private enterprise and again the statements about a "retreat from socialism" in solving the problems facing the country rang out. As we see, bourgeois propaganda continues to work its main subject, the "bankruptcy of the economy of socialism," and tries to use any reports it can on economic life in the USSR as evidence.

Another subject that occupies a significant place in Western radio stations' broadcasts to the USSR is human rights. In Armenian-language broadcasts this subject is usually combined with the subject of the "rights of small nations." Over the air we hear Armenian

surnames along with others and hear stories of "prisoners of conscience" of Armenian origin and their actions. The Voice of America tries to create the impression that there are representatives of all nationalities among the "fighters for human rights" and that the struggle against the line of the "communist leadership" is being waged on a broad front. In connection with the subject of "human rights" the bourgeois radio voices exploit the Afghan problem. The peace initiatives of the Soviet State, which are widely known in the West, and the signing of the INF Treaty in Washington have dispelled the myth of the "Soviet military threat." This subject, which was a leading one in the past, has lost its ring in broadcasts in the languages of the USSR peoples. The only echo of this subject that continues to be heard is material on the "Soviet military presence in Afghanistan"; recently, as Soviet forces have been withdrawn, this subject has again become a leading one.

Extensive exploitation of the religious theme has been noticeable in the broadcasts of our ideological enemies in recent years. Ideological sabotage under religious cover joins together with anticommunist, anti-Soviet propaganda. The use of such stereotypes as "flaunting freedom of conscience" points up the place of religious propaganda in the overall activity of the ideological enemy. A differentiated approach to this subject is observed in its application to the audience in the Armenian SSR. For example, the Voice of America in Armenian offers primarily articles and reports on the status of believers in the socialist countries and Union republics. Their thought is that false information from the Armenian SSR could be exposed by any listener, because people are familiar with the situation in their own republic; but they cannot know how things are, for example, in the Baltic republics or the socialist countries. Selections of information from overseas Armenian communities familiarize listeners with the role of the church in the social life of the diaspora and create the impression that it participates actively in emigration of overseas Armenians, education and indoctrination of children, and extensive charitable activity. Here too they are figuring that the listener himself will by association draw the appropriate conclusions about the status of the church in our republic.

It has to be noted that the entire apparatus of Dashnak propaganda has been included in the Voice of America-Radio Liberty propaganda complex. While the activity of the services of this complex are coordinated and directed "on the vertical" by the long-since exposed connection of the radio voices with the CIA and the U.S. Government, coordination in cooperation of the Armenian department of Voice of America and the Armenian office of Radio Liberty is also observed "on the horizontal," through the mediation of the Dashnaks. The Dashnak movement views these channels as their own propaganda channels. The Armenian office of Radio Liberty, as a structural element of black propaganda, uses publications of the Dashnak Spyuk publishing houses in addition to other materials. The activities of the Dashnaks in these radio

stations offer an opportunity to use information published in the Dashnak press in radio broadcasts. Among others, it helps the Voice of America put slanted, slanderous material on the air while maintaining the appearance of a neutral, objective information source which is only presenting one of the various points of view, one of the views on the issue.

We can thus state that the Armenian department of the Voice of America acts as the visible part of the propaganda iceberg. Its practical activities are nourished by the Dashnak Party's theories of anticommunism and anti-Sovietism merged with nationalistic ideas and propaganda and these theories appear in the most highly organized form in this iceberg.

This symbiosis results in the broadcast of propaganda subjects closely tied to the goals of Dashnak propaganda which supplement and intensify the factual and emotional facets of the broadcasts. The Voice of America compares Soviet Armenia's achievements in science, culture, and the economy with the accomplishments of scientists and cultural figures of Armenian origin in various countries of the world and tries to lead the audience to the idea that Armenians in foreign countries have broader opportunities for their own development. Torn away from its social and political roots the scientific and cultural process appears, in the station's broadcasts, deeply national while the scientific and cultural development of Soviet Armenia occurs, in the opinion of the Voice of America, if not in spite of, then at least outside of the republic's socialist development. The Voice of America readily reports performances by creative collectives and individual performers from Soviet Armenia in Spyuk communities, the warm reception given to emissaries of the republic, and their great talent. This information is balanced with reports of appearances by foreign Armenian performers in the best concert halls of the world. This presents phenomena of different orders as equivalent; it covers up and erases the very fact that a sovereign republic exists.

The Voice of America, playing on specific national characteristics, overinflating various aspects of the nationality issue, and imposing the theses of Dashnak propaganda about "forced Russification," is striving for certain changes that it considers desirable in public opinion among the population of the republic; it is attempting to exert a purposeful influence on them to achieve its own political goals. Students of subversive radio propaganda have noted as its ultimate goal a change in the attitudes and actions of the masses, molding and directing the dissatisfaction of listeners by convincing them that they are deprived of "legal material" or "democratic rights." The logic of the reasoning here is that part of the audience may consider themselves to be unprivileged and another part may want more and thus believe that its interests are being encroached upon. This dissatisfaction from various causes which existed before the start of propaganda activity or was instigated by it is consolidated, given direction, and given an object. Based

on this definition of subversive radio propaganda it can be considered that the Voice of America, which represents the American Government, is conducting subversive propaganda in the Armenian language. It is true that the forms and methods of this propaganda vary depending on the foreign political situation. For example, in President Reagan's first years when a "crusade" against communism was declared the content and tone of the broadcasts was much cruder and made it easier to recognize the intentions of our ideological enemies. Today, when the peace initiatives of the Communist Party and Soviet Government are widely known and enjoy the support of the world community, when the new political thinking and new approach to world problems are becoming a practical reality, the Voice of America has begun working in a much more subtle and calculating manner. It is difficult today, without painstaking scientific analysis, to single out in "pure" form and discern the particular directions of the "voices" propaganda activity. This highly professional manner and effort to direct the maximum ideological charge at the audience and receive a return from every word sent out over the air promote the use of a highly diverse arsenal of methods and procedures. Thus, for example, every report has one or several subjects which are not fundamental to the particular report; they are sometimes concealed in the sub-text and become primary for the audience through the logic of broadcasts when served up systematically.

The differences between the language of Voice of American broadcasts and the contemporary Armenian language are, in our opinion, calculated to carry a certain emotional charge and are used as an additional propaganda influence, since the stylistic, lexical, and phonetic characteristics of the language offer the possibility of using different linguistic nuances, which also means nuances in meaning, to describe an object. The use of archaisms and grabarisms to designate contemporary concepts can serve to equate an outdated and a contemporary concept and to deny the qualitative difference between them. Thus, in Voice of America broadcasts they use the word "nakharar," taken from the lexicon of the early Middle Ages where it means "head of a feudal clan," in place of the borrowed term "minister," which is accepted in contemporary Armenian. This noun "nakharar," used in a contemporary context, of course carries a supplementary semantic sub-text. Many such examples could be given. These differences, in our opinion, goes beyond a merely quantitative difference and give grounds to state that the associates of the Voice of America radio station, for their own propaganda purposes, are broadcasting a kind of artificial fusion of West Armenian and contemporary Armenian, which is understood by the audience at and the same time differs from the language of the mass information organs of the Armenian SSR.

In a discussion of the announcers used when radio is employed in psychological warfare, the Armenian researcher P. Laybarger noted the negative attitude of the audience to an announcer who is completely fluent in the language, considering it better to use announcers who

speak with an English accent. It must be admitted that American specialists have used the existing situation skillfully as an act of propaganda influence, and a propaganda technique.

Along with other techniques and methods of propaganda influence on the audience Voice of America broadcasts make broad use of incomplete and unfinished statements. In a number of cases the approaches to the subject are so colored and veiled that the listener who does not have a great deal of experience with the broadcasts may take the presentation of the subject as a set of curious facts and reports. But this mosaic of reports skillfully puts together a picture of the problem that is advantageous to our ideological enemies.

In its broadcasting practice the Voice of America, in addition to materials that reveal a subject, uses such techniques as recalling a subject, indicating, referring, or hinting at it. The incomplete statement, calculated on the listener using the information received to draw the appropriate conclusions himself, increases the information value of the reports through the audience's general ideas of the communicative intentions of the station. This is the subject of specific psycholinguistic and sociolinguistic studies because the information value of a text depends on the amount of information that becomes the property of the recipient, the audience, on the addressee's receiving an adequate interpretation of the communicator's thought. As we see, the Voice of America is making full use of linguistic opportunities to accomplish its goals. It seems essential to us to conduct research to study the linguistic capabilities of the addressee of reports in order to determine the effectiveness of Voice of America activities more accurately.

Glasnost, which has become the norm of our life, active participation by the domestic mass information media in discussing the problems of social life, and publication of objective, timely domestic and foreign information creates opportunities to make our counterpropaganda work, whose main goal is to nurture the political consciousness of Soviet people and fight against any manifestations of influence by hostile sources of information, more aggressive. The sociological research of recent years testifies to a growth of audience interest in radio and television broadcasts and newspaper materials on the so-called "production" theme. The theme of industrial and agricultural production, which was highly unpopular in the recent past, has, under conditions of the transition to self-financing and cost accounting, become one of the audience's most preferred subjects. The interest in the experience of the socialist countries in economic development has increased noticeably. Under these conditions the audience's interest in international information declines somewhat, and that is natural. At the same time, the rise in people's level of information leads to a decline in interest in the reports broadcast by the various "radio voices." Improving the activity of the mass information media within the framework of the demands of the new CPSU Program—

"strive to see that the media thoroughly analyze the trends and phenomena of domestic and international life and economic and social processes, actively support everything that is new and progressive, understand the current problems that concern people, and propose ways to resolve them" ("Materialy XXVII syezda KPSS" [Materials of the 27th CPSU Congress], p 166)—leads to ensuring the success of our own propaganda and de facto removes the problem of hostile influences. Broad information awareness and activation of the human factor are becoming a dependable barrier in the path of imperialist propaganda.

In his talk with leaders of the leading U. S. mass information media M. S. Gorbachev developed an essentially new idea of counterpropaganda, based on glasnost, debates, and broad presentation in our press of the opinions of bourgeois politicians and journals without any deletions. He cited specific cases of disinformation and use of broadcasts of various rumors and gossip by the radio voices to the USSR. Among other things he stressed, "We are not afraid of criticism. Your criticism is often unconvincing; it is disrespectful to our people and therefore does not draw our respect." The General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee said, if the Western mass information media try to show the Soviet Union in a bad light, that means that we have undertaken a good cause and have begun to solve major problems in the course of restructuring. And if they are trying to kill interest in our policies, that means restructuring is a serious matter both for us and for the world."

The changes that are taking place in Soviet society objective create positive conditions for the development of counterpropaganda and making it more aggressive and effective. That is understandable, because the fight against hostile propaganda can only be productive if it is based on a solid socioeconomic and political foundation.

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**TaSSR Decries VOA Misrepresentation of Nationality, Afghan Relations**  
18300359 Dushanbe KOMMUNIST TADZHIKISTANA in Russian 5 Jul 88 p 2

[Article by TadzhikTA correspondent entitled: "The 'Voice of America' Distorts... on the Fronts of the Ideological Struggle"]

[Text] Once again the organ of the Washington Administration, the Voice of America, appeared in the role of a purveyor of disinformation. True to its custom of sticking its nose into the internal affairs of other peoples the radio station this time is trying to drive a wedge into the relations between two fraternal Soviet republics—Tajikistan and Uzbekistan. There is no other way to interpret

the recent broadcast that was compiled from materials gathered during a journey to Central Asia by the VOA correspondent Jolion Neygel.

"The radio journalists visited our republic too," the Minister of Culture of the Tajik SSR, N.T. Tabarov said. "Since the guests displayed special interest in the cultural life of the Tajik people, I talked with them in order to give full and objective information. The conversation was frank, in the spirit of glasnost and did not sidestep controversial topics."

The Americans responded in a peculiar way to the hospitality and sincerity. This is how their conversation with the minister was reflected in the VOA program now being transmitted in several languages of the peoples of the USSR:

"Nur Tabarov says that he wants to correct injustices arising from excesses of the nationality policy in Uzbekistan in the time of Sharaf Rashidov." Such a strident introduction anticipates the part of the radio program in which the discussion about problems in relations between the Tajiks and Uzbeks was related. It gives the impression that the Tajik minister takes it upon himself to establish order in a neighboring sovereign republic.

"What we have here is an open attempt to damage the process that has begun of settling jointly the problems left over from the period of stagnation in the relations of two fraternal peoples—the Tajiks and Uzbeks," Nur Tabarov says. "I think that it is no accident that this broadcast went on the air at the same time as the visit to Tajikistan of a representative delegation of party and governmental leaders from Uzbekistan that took place recently. I am not just talking about journalistic ethics: words were put in my mouth that I did not say. In the final analysis an unsuitable objective was achieved by unworthy means, by distorting facts."

The Voice of America would not be itself if it did not find a way to cram into the same broadcast such a large subject as the Afghan problem and again in a tendentious light:

"The Minister (N. Tabarov) said that the population of Tajikistan expressed dissatisfaction with regard to the intervention of Soviet troops in Afghanistan, and young people do not want to serve in the army there in particular."

And this is what N. Tabarov himself says in this regard:

"When our conversation was already over the Americans requested permission to ask a 'provocative,' as they called it, question about the attitude of Soviet people to the events in Afghanistan. Naturally I responded with what I think and know: our people regard the friendly Afghan people sympathetically and have always considered the introduction of Soviet troops into a neighboring country as an act of international assistance. In this regard I noted that of course it is painful for parents and close relatives to learn of the death or wounding of their sons in combat operations. After all, these are completely

natural feelings, and one can understand them from a purely humanitarian standpoint. One has to be physically and morally deaf, however, to draw the conclusion that was attributed to me by the American correspondents."

"I recall that when they came to ask for a meeting the American journalists promised that their material would promote the strengthening of trust between the peoples of the USSR and the USA. I in turn, as a former colleague, expressed the hope for an objective treatment of our conversation and said that otherwise I would have to answer them. Well that is the way it turned out. It seems that the foreign slanderers have their own interpretation of Soviet glasnost, using it for selfish and unscrupulous objectives," Nur Tabarov said in conclusion.

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**Georgian Journalists Discuss Boldness, Timidity, 'Internal Censor'**

18130431 Tbilisi AKHALGAZRDA KOMUNISTI  
in Georgian 5 May 88 pp 1, 3

[Journalists' round table, various participants; materials prepared by Manana Kartozia: "Five Questions to Journalists on the Fifth of May"]

[Text] How are we to build a fortress of truth? What is demanded of journalists by our times, by the image of Georgian journals and newspapers against the general background? These questions, of course, are constantly in our minds. We discuss them, we even quarrel at official gatherings, from various rostrums, or during get-togethers over a glass of tea. We continue the discussion today, this time in the presence of the reader. Our guests today are journalists Van Baiburt, Lia Goderdzishvili, Nika Kvizhinadze, Shio Lartsuliani, Pilipe Makharadze, Nodar Tabidze, Manana Kiliptari, Temur Tsalugelashvili, Vakhtang Tsulukidze, and Teimuraz Dzhafarli.

**Who Are We, the Publicists of the 1980s??**

**Question 1, or: The Collective Credo.**

Van Baiburt, editor of SOVETAKAN VRASTAN: I believe, or rather I am convinced, that the perestroika, democratization, and glasnost launched in 1985 were manifested most quickly in the Georgian press. I take full responsibility for this statement, and perhaps it is a cliché to say so, but believe me, only by using such enthusiastic phrases can I express my opinion. I'm keeping an eye on the press of our neighboring republics—Armenia and Azerbaijan—and I think that they, unlike the Georgian press, still lack boldness and incisiveness. The Georgian press is vigorously fighting against everything that is outmoded. It is vigorously propagandizing perestroika, democratization, and glasnost. I myself majored in journalism at Tbilisi State University in the 1960s, and so I know the history of the Georgian press. I have read IVERIA and DROEBA in

the library, and so I can say confidently that the history of Georgian journalism has never enjoyed such a happy period as now. I believe that this marks the beginning of a "Golden Age" in the history of our journalism.

Lia Goderdzishvili, chief reporter for the municipal department of TBILISI: Journalism cannot be forced, cannot be made to fit the Procrustean bed, although to date it is not yet finally free of the internal censor who has sat for years "on the tip of the journalist's pen." Whenever the journalist wanted to put "that kind of" phrase to paper, this "censor" would tug him back with an unseen cord: "That's not for the press." The all-union press and periodicals have long since emerged from under the influence of the forces of inertia, and there is nothing surprising in that. That press, so to speak, had to play the role of pilot in "pulling out" the themes which had been pent up in publicistics. If we observe the "internal currents" of our press, we will also note many remarkable things here in this regard, especially in recent times. But that isn't what the reader expects....A little more boldness, a little more depth, a little more current affairs, and if I may put it very frankly, quoting the poet, "a little more talent, brother, talent...." This is what perestroika demands of journalists today.

Nika Kvizhinadze, Georgian correspondent for SOT-SIALISTICHESKAYA INDUSTRIYA:

God knows we live in interesting times. The democratization of our society and the atmosphere of broad glasnost are enabling us to examine previously forbidden themes in the press. We are now able to deal with extremely serious problems. A new, boundless horizon of action has been opened up before us journalists. The main thing is to get busy and write. Unfortunately, in my opinion, the republic's press lags somewhat behind the Central press in terms of boldness, vigor, and fighting spirit. This remark applies primarily to rayon newspapers. What is the explanation? Clearly, inertia is at work, the custom of following the beaten path. Nor must we lose sight of the fact that local editorial collectives feel a certain amount of pressure from party and soviet organs. A stereotype is at work: "But sir, why stir up public opinion?" or: "Why drag trash out of the hut for others to see?" There are still cases of persecution for criticism. Some officials take personal offense at new ideas or suggestions to change anything. Obviously, it will not be easy to defeat the opposition to perestroika. What is the remedy? The Law on the Press, which is now in preparation, will certainly call many things by their right names. But the law is one thing and our business is another—to fight openly and uncompromisingly to put Leninist principles into action, to fight for truth, the truth which was hushed up and mocked for decades. Inertia, the fear that "something might happen," is a poor guide for our cause. Therefore, on this Press Day, I wish for my colleagues and myself that we will soon free ourselves from the relapses of the past, that we will take a new look at the world around us and act boldly and vigorously, with a sense of personal responsibility for the fate of perestroika.

**Shio Lartsuliani, editor of SABCHOTA OSETI:**

We cannot compete with the materials of the all-union press either in terms of depth or journalistic perfection. That's the way it is now and that's the way it was prior to perestroyka. And this more or less logical phenomenon is not so much due to the broader scope and more propitious circumstances of our fellow journalists on the all-union level as it is to the fact that they have easier access to a richer intellectual fund and experience. Should all of this bring about a reawakening of our professional self-esteem, especially considering the legacy of the not-too-distant past? Yes, it should. It is necessary, therefore, that we try harder, especially in today's context of glasnost. It's just that I personally am not in favor of reprinting materials from other newspapers; we ought to get involved in our own affairs, with our own intelligence and words.

**Pilipe Makharadze, director of the Tbilisi affiliate of the Central Lenin Museum:** Sometimes the facts in articles reprinted from the all-union press have the smell of falsity. Yet we keep silent.

**Professor Doctor of Philology Nodar Tabidze, dean of the Tbilisi State University's Journalism Faculty:** I'm not sure about being a lever, but publicists really does promote perestroyka and the development of glasnost. Critical materials have proliferated. This is a good thing, and perhaps more space should be devoted to propagandizing what is positive and exemplary. This is the way to achieve goals. All too frequently an enormous volume of material is printed which contains practically no analysis or deep probing of events. I agree that we really cannot compete with the all-union press. There is more than one reason for this, but I should like to remind you of a complaint once voiced by Konstantine Gamsakhurdia: it is hard to criticize anyone in Georgia; everyone is someone's relative or friend. For this reason, criticism is sometimes tantamount to the clan enmity of the Capulets and the Montagues.

**Manana Kiliptari, editor of GAMARDZHVEBA, the in-house newspaper of Akhalgazrda Komunisti Kolkhoz in the village of Dzimiti, Makharadze Rayon:** In my opinion, what is most significant to the publicist of the 1980s is freedom of speech and thought, the much more active stance, and the liberation from bombast. The press, of course, is obligated to assume the role of lever in all the important processes going on in the country. Especially today, when perestroyka and glasnost have become essential to our life.

**Temur Tsalugashvili, editor of AKHALI TIANETI:** We Georgian publicists have a great desire and wish to fight, but our skill at restraint is even greater. Some of our forays, therefore, resemble Guram Pataraia's TV film "The Record"; rather than let them "scold us" or make trouble for us and challenge us to a fight, we prefer to keep silent.

**Vakhtang Tsulukidze, editor of SABCHOTA ACHARA:** Perestroyka has to take place in our thinking. Many people, including officials, are working with the old methods; they choose a policy of keeping still, yet in speech everything is fine. This is a most complicated process. The Georgian press is working diligently, but the quality is still unsatisfactory. Though I do not wish to say that the press's efforts have a tinge of wait-and-see. We have got to treat democracy and glasnost with more consideration. Everyone should first learn how to make good use of these boons. A high level of culture is essential.

**Professor Doctor of Philology Teimuraz Dzhafarli, editor of SOVET GURDZHUSTANI:** The essential thing today is civic-mindedness, party principles, boldness, the tackling of real problems, and honesty. We journalists used to endure everything without a murmur. That's why a slavish mentality took hold. We learned to lie, to fawn. Eventually many journalists came to be such that people would sneer. Yours is the second oldest profession after prostitution. All too frequently we undertook to use the very powerful weapon of the word for things other than justice or the revolution. After that, it is remarkable that journalism has taken its place on the front lines of perestroyka. It could be said that as much as we lied in the past, to that same extent we are unsparing of ourselves today and are really in the vanguard of perestroyka. But compared with the Central press perhaps, we do not have all that much to brag about. They are probing deeper questions and posing them more incisively. They are forcing us to think. I believe we are not freeing ourselves from inertia fast enough. Every edition of the all-union press is so important now that you can't set it aside....

**Let's Brag a Little!**

**Question Two, Concerning Which Article in Your Newspaper (Journal), or Your Own Article, Has Evoked Broad Response and Resonance.**

**Van Baiburt:** I will name a letter from a youngster in Akhalkalaki [heavily populated by Armenians] titled "I'm Ashamed, How About You?" He wrote that the Georgian language is poorly taught in Armenian schools. A flood of responses resulted. One reader scolded Georgian young people, saying "Isn't it your patriotic duty? Can't you teach your own native language to fraternal people living in Georgia, especially since they want it so much?" Many people demanded that the time devoted to such studies be increased, if only after classes.

**Lia Goderdzishvili:** In November of year before last our newspaper published Teimuraz Koridze's article "Since Anything New...", which dealt with relations between official medicine and folk healing. The article evoked a real "explosion" of response. More than a thousand responses came in. And more are coming in even now. Not a day goes by without several being brought in by

someone from the letters department, who says, meaningfully, "Askurava again," and places the letter in a special file... Sometimes it's really hard to explain why readers get so interested in a particular theme....

**Shio Lartsuliani:** It's hard for me to pick out just one, and to tell the truth I'm still waiting for the kind of material that would evoke truly broad response.

**Vakhtang Tsulukidze:** SABCHOTA ACHARA devoted a page to the theme "Let's declare Adjaria's forests a preserve!" A lot of people responded to this article, and some of their responses were printed. Since then, measures have been undertaken by the autonomous republic's party and soviet organs. Also, the other day we published a critical article about the Batumi Botanical Garden. This article also evoked serious response. Of such pieces we can say that they are working.... That's the main thing.

**Teimuraz Dzhafarli:** On 3 August 1986 we published my article titled "How to Get Rid of Anonymous Letters." The Central Committee approved of the article, which was reprinted in KOMUNISTI and many rayon and city newspapers. And later on, the Azerbaijan journal KOMUNIST AZERBAYDZHANI asked to reprint it. Then we had an article about bureaucratism, titled "Our Worst Internal Enemy." The full version of that article was published in our own LITERATURULI SAKART-VELO. Just recently we published an article on problems of internationalist relations. That appeared in the 3 March edition. That article was titled "Our Friendship Is Our Strength." That might seem to be a hackneyed slogan, but there is much behind it. That is what I wanted our readers to think about.

#### Master and Apprentice

##### Question Three, Concerning Who You Have To Thank for Becoming a Journalist and Who Your Own Apprentice Is.

**Van Baiburt:** Garun Akopov, who served as a correspondent for SOVETSKIY SPORT for almost 40 years; he was a relative of mine. Throughout my childhood I used to meet Mikheil Kakabadze in Akopov's home (later, Kakabadze taught me at the university). Also there was Giorgi Lebanidze, who was then a department head on ZARYA VOSTOKA, and also Sandro Mamasakhisi. But the main thing was my debut. My first publication in the major press is connected with AKHALGAZRDA KOMUNISTI. I went to the editor, Gogi Gelashvili, and said I was a university student and asked him for an assignment. At that time, all newspaper materials had to be illustrated. But Valiko Gengiuri, who was a reporter then, refused to go on assignment with students. As he said, "What if it turns out to be literary material?!" Then I went to my friend Aleksandr Saakov and proposed that he buy a camera. "Why not take pictures," I said. "Let's put something together for AKHALGAZRDA KOMUNISTI." He refused, saying "I don't know anything about photography. Let's get our friend to teach me and we'll go photograph kindergartens, but I can't take

pictures for the newspaper!" Despite his big objections, I got him to go along with it, and that's how we made our joint debut in AKHALGAZRDA KOMUNISTI.

**Lia Goderdzishvili:** Please don't accuse me of false modesty, but I don't consider myself a journalist of the rank that would have an apprentice. If I have accumulated some editorial experience, of course, I do not hesitate to share it with anyone, just as no one has ever refused to intervene professionally for my benefit when the need arose. There's nothing unusual in that, after all. I personally believe that the greatest teacher a journalist has is the set of human qualities which motivate us in our daily life. Good and evil, love and hate, friendship and enmity.... It all depends on which side you lean to in these "duels" of attributes and where you lead the reader....

**Shio Lartsuliani:** I have my first editor, Mikheil Kakabadze, to thank. I in turn have shared experience with younger personnel, but I don't know who among them, if any, would consider himself my apprentice.

**Nodar Tabidze:** This question resembles the proverbial ford, one place in which will drown a fellow. Could you be sneakily trying to catch us in conceit? I'm an everyday apprentice, and I find it hard to name a particular creator of a school of Georgian Soviet publicistics. And in general, has objective reality made it possible to do so, and to what extent? Today, values are being reevaluated in many spheres. In this regard, literary criticism is manifesting enviable boldness. Perhaps we ought to emulate the writers. Let us state frankly that the field of journalism has a great deal to review and revise. Who do I consider my teacher? Ilia Chavchavadze. He brought up many generations and continues to do so.

#### What Proposals Do You Have for Us

##### Question Four, a Request that You Tell Us What Theme, Problem, Issue, or Experience of Perestroyka You Consider Suitable for a Youth Newspaper

**Van Baiburt:** There are plenty of themes, but what concrete suggestions can we give you? Perhaps the problems of the Afghan vets, who have a lot of unresolved problems, with thousands of bureaucrats preventing them from obtaining the benefits conferred on them by law. And I think we ought to write more often about those who perished in Afghanistan. We should tell about their families, their orphaned children, their mothers. We probably ought to mount a memorial vigil in order to discharge our debt to them in some way.

**Lia Goderdzishvili:** "The generation conflict," the sociology of falsity, age mentality, the Komsomol.... Shouldn't we also be thinking about the extent of the roots of the student "elite" and careerism?... You young journalists today not only have full freedom to choose your own themes; you have to test the "prize stone" of your publicistic abilities.

**Shio Lartsuliani:** I have often thought about what brings about changes in people's desires and aspirations. Where are we going? Not long ago there was a case in which a group of students drove their own professors and teachers from the auditorium for speaking frankly. In the 1950s such a thing would have been unthinkable. Of course, lecturers then were of a different type, but whatever shortcomings there may be in terms of teaching and instruction, it does not mean we should give students the right to choose their lecturers and rectors. I would like to see AKHALGAZRDA KOMUNISTI publish articles about how the coming generation will overcome its simplistic ideas about study and labor, what it wants, what it can promise us. Also worth discussing is what we are giving the coming generation, and what the previous generation bequeathed to us.

**Manana Kiliptari:** For years the newspapers, especially the youth newspapers, have been telling us about the urgency of the problem of the proper organization of young people's leisure time. Not much has been done in this regard, and the problem, naturally, continues to be unresolved. We probably ought to be looking more deeply into the matter. Probably more incisive and informative articles would help matters. We frequently criticize the results, but we are rather hesitant to look into their underlying causes. Or else we content ourselves with telling readers half-truths. More attention ought to be focused on the problem of sex education. Many of my acquaintances are involved in pedagogical work. They have told me that deeper thinking is necessitated by the pedagogy of teachers' and students' cooperation. I believe that it would be interesting for the newspapers to be more seriously concerned with this problem. Statistics tell us that the number of broken homes is rising. Perhaps we ought to give more publicity to young, stable families and promote the theme of the invincibility of love and respect.

**Temur Tsalugelashvili:** Love! The theme of the love between mother and children, father and children, love for the homeland and love in general, because "love exalts us." The light of love should guide perestroyka.

**Teimuraz Dzhafarli:** We ought to write about what is demanded of the Komsomol so that it may really become the organization it should be—that is, we ought to dismantle

the school of careerism, we ought to relieve the Komsomol of its ballast. The Komsomol ought to give up its interest in every which thing and apply its efforts to inculcating young people with a moral worldview and civic-mindedness, also youth's physical training.

**Ha Ha Ha!!!**

**Question Five: Can You Recall Some Funny Incident in Your Activity?**

**Shio Lartsuliani:** On my first day, the editor wrote on my application that I should be taken on as a literary worker for a trial period. That was the general rule, but I spent a whole year fearing that they would fire me or give me some kind of test.

**Pilipe Makharadze:** Once I submitted a short article to the editor of the wall newspaper. Time went by, and I asked him what happened to it. He said they couldn't print it. I was surprised until he told me soothingly that the wall newspaper hadn't appeared for a year.

**Lia Goderdzishvili:** This happened several years ago, when I was receiving newspaper materials. Someone told me about a leading shift chief on a tunneling crew. I asked his name, but it was noisy in the room and I thought they said Nestan. I wrote it down and then asked with surprise, Nestan? You got women working with you? It seems the interviewer wasn't paying attention either, and he nodded his head, Yes, we got women working there too. It didn't take much to awaken my journalist's fantasy. I imagined Nestan-Daredzhan, the Kadzheti Fortress, "...the way goes through a tunnel...", and the Tbilisi metro....Oh, the trouble I got into! The article was published, and then it turned out that our Nestan was really Lenstan! (Poor me, a victim of whoever thought up that composite name)....I apologized profusely and then devoted a special article to the unpretentious, modest man whom I had unwittingly embarrassed, but whenever I think about that episode today I still break out in a cold sweat....So if something funny like that happens on a newspaper it's not just a laughable or curious incident, it's a mistake, and God forbid it should happen to you! Avoid it.

06854

**Azerbaijani Scholar Faults Approach To Study of Party History**  
18310430 Baku KOMMUNIST in Azeri 7 May 88 p 2

[Article by Professor Seyfaddin Gandilov: "Toward New Demands for Research in the Party History Sector"]

[Text] Great attention is being given to science in the work of our party and its Leninist central committee. Today, Soviet science has made epochal achievements and holds a position at the world forefront in many important sectors. The scope of scientific research in our country is being constantly expanded. The role of science as a direct productive force is also increasing.

The party has shown great concern for and provided help to science, especially the social sciences. A result of this concern is that now the thesaurus of scientific research have been broadened, attention given to major theoretical questions has grown significantly, and demands on the scientific-theoretical level and quality have been significantly raised at institutes, faculties and publishing houses. Our general successes in the development of the social sciences are clear to all.

But, as stated at the 27th CPSU Congress, there are still serious shortcomings and gaps in the development of the social sciences. I wish to make some observations on these.

It is a truth that the rich heritage of Marxism-Leninism is not used sufficiently in some scientific works, that over-simplification of facts and schematics is permitted, and that new events and processes have been analyzed neither in depth nor in generalities. Free over manipulation of some facts and violations of the principles of historicism are being allowed. No deep thought is being given to real contradictions in societal life and these are not being given enough analysis. One cannot say that the needed conditions have been created for a creative, scientific atmosphere or for wide-ranging scientific discussions at all academic institutions, faculties or scientific research institutes. Definite shortcomings remain in the work of inculcating cadres with a principled approach, a critical relationship to their own work and with feelings of high responsibility.

Not all teachers in social science departments at higher schools are engaged in serious scientific research. Generally, some teachers do not take part in scientific conferences and they publish no scientific work. One of the important shortcomings is that joint research in the social sciences is done rarely. Research done jointly by social scientists would be very valuable. Today, the times demand the activation of the major functions of historical science. Documents and decisions accepted at the 27th CPSU Congress and subsequent plenums of the CPSU Central Committee, reports on the 70th anniversary of the Great October Revolution, and materials from all-union meetings of directors of social science faculties have significantly enriched the theoretical and methodological foundations of party history. One of the

important duties standing before party historians consists of explaining to the broad working masses the content, rich theoretical conclusions and generalizations in these documents and decrees.

In recent years no little work has been done in research into important problems of party history. But one still has to work long and hard in this sector.

Comrade M.S. Gorbachev said in his speech at the February (1988) plenum of the CPSU Central Committee: "We have tried to give an objective and measured evaluation of the road over which the Soviet people have traveled and to answer the complex questions in the documents connected to the 70th anniversary of October which have given the Soviet people cause for thought. But now, and this has to be especially noted, a strong need is felt to work on these questions practically as well as to consider new demands."

From this point of view, questions of Marxist-Leninist methodology demand the highest priority. Marxism-Leninism forms the theoretical basis for both the policies and practical work of the CPSU and the methodological basis for scientific research. Serious work has to be done in the sector of improving the methodological preparation of historian cadres. The necessity to create a basic, objective, correct and complete history of the party and Soviet society is also demanded. By applying Marxist-Leninist methodology correctly, we will be able to study the closed pages of our history without haste and without presenting a fictionalized situation leading to false research.

By the same token, raising the ideational-theoretical level of researching party history is also an important task. It is necessary to explain that we have permitted in some of our research work serious shortcomings, even mistakes, and instances of subjectivism, empiricism, descriptivism and tautology in evaluating certain events and questions; we have not applied party principle enough. There have also been cases when Marxist-Leninist conceptions of the historical process have been set aside. Today, problems which aid us in achieving our duties in the sector of restructuring the direction of scientific research on party history must be formulated. These are problems like our party's experience in the sector of activating the human factor and eliminating difficulties and contradictions in building socialism, ways and methods of accelerating the country's socio-economic development, party actions in the sector of improving the economy to a new scientific-technical and organizational-economic level according to principle, the party's concern for socialist self-management and perfecting the economic mechanism, the development of socialist democracy and socialist self-management among the people, increasing the party's role in building socialism, unity in the party's ideational-theoretical, political-educational, organizational and economic activity, ideological work, and the party's multi-faceted, impassioned and productive foreign policy. Party historians and social scientists in general must strengthen the

struggle against bourgeois ideology, primarily anticommunism and antisovietism, which is the major ideological-political weapon of imperialism. In my opinion, work in this sector is being done poorly. Bourgeois falsifiers who distort our history and achievements are ever more active.

Along with this there are still questions which, until recently, have been considered to have been studied and resolved, but which need to be re-examined and completely clarified.

Not enough attention has been given to the study of our history of revolutionary struggle. The history of the development of capitalism in Azerbaijan and the history of Azerbaijan's bourgeoisie remain unstudied.

Questions connected with the activities of Alibey Huseynzade and Ahmadbey Aghazade, who were forward-thinking individuals, must be examined objectively. It is also time to raise the question of the return of our archives which were taken abroad by the Musavat and are now in Paris. We cannot pass over difficult or disputed questions of our history in silence.

As comrade M.S. Gorbachev has stated, we need full glasnost and accuracy here. By calling for this, the party has created all the possibilities to write history correctly and completely, and to study the events and their causes in all their variation, complexity and contradictions under conditions of glasnost and democracy.

One of the important directions in party history research is connected with the reworking of some of the problems related to the building of socialism in our country. This need was demonstrated at the celebratory meeting held in honor of the 70th anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution.

There is a need for new research in order to expose distortions permitted when collectivization was introduced and during the struggle against the kulaks, and in order to reveal the illegalities, arbitrary actions and crimes under conditions of government abuse under the atmosphere of the cult of personality. History itself is always objective, but historians embellish and distort it. It is man, the masses, the people which create history. We have often written history without the men behind it. Now we need to study in a sophisticated manner the actions of those who created history and questions on the relationship between the party and the masses and the individual himself as both a member of society and a citizen. We must clarify the period of the building of socialism as well as some questions about its early history and study it in a more multi-faceted way. From this point of view, the temporary fall of the Soviet government in Baku and the causes behind the collapse of the Baku Commune should be broadly and objectively examined within the framework of Marxist-Leninist methodology. In a time of glasnost and democracy there is a great interest in and need for continuing research on

the activities of Narimanov, Shaumyan, Kirov, Ordzhonikidze and other prominent Bolsheviks, and for studies which correctly and deeply illuminate individuals who actively participated in the struggle for the victory of the socialist revolution and the building of socialism.

In my opinion the causes and nature of the conflicts between a group of leading workers in the AzCP in 1921-1922 should also be clarified. In a word, work which is the result of new, deep research on various problems is needed. We must not deny that the quality of a number of published books and dissertations is still quite low. Some dissertations are quite limited, repeat each other or are devoted to random subjects. Difficulties and contradictions are not shown in them, descriptivism has been permitted, no generalizations are drawn, the necessary thought has not been given to theoretical conclusions or recommendations, and the relationship between all-union and local materials is defined incorrectly.

Discussions on these are not being held at scientific seminars nor with the broad participation of the scientific community. There is still no scientific seminar for preliminary discussions at the review faculty at the S.M. Kirov Azerbaijan State University. Nonetheless, it would be good to hear information presented by dissertation writers on the results of their work or on innovations in science, and to hear their answers to questions on problems they are studying.

There are also shortcomings in the work of studying and approving dissertation topics. The republic liaison council of the Institute of Party History approves topics submitted by various faculties without taking into consideration opinions of the university's review faculty. At this point we would say that this council is not living up to its commitments: its composition is limited; thus, whatever views professors who are not department heads might have are not represented on it. Council meetings are held only occasionally and questions connected with the development of party history are discussed in very rare instances. The council sees its job fundamentally as discussing doctoral and candidate dissertations and approving them. But, if the council and departments would jointly list and publish those research topics related to present demands it would be very useful. This would help direct the general line of scientific research toward topics which have been little studied and for which there is a present need.

At this point we would say that in recent years a talented young generation with practical work experience has entered the party history sector. They are doing productive research under the leadership of experienced scholars in the faculties in which they work. But a number of aspirants and graduate students are submitting work of a low level; their major concern is not the quality of scientific work but rather submitting it on time. Increasing their general world view or ideational-theoretical preparation is of secondary importance for them. Perhaps this is because when we talk about social science specialists, we cite the names of dozens of science

doctors or candidates. But when we want to raise a specific issue, we have to search for a specialist. Thus, we have to increase attention to quality rather than quantity. From this point of view, ministries and faculties must approach the issue of acceptance into the aspirant program very seriously.

V.I. Lenin once noted that one should write party history only on the basis of documents. Party documents must form the basis of research in the party history sector. Unfortunately, we sometimes violate this principle. One has to take another aspect into consideration, namely, that the great majority of documents important for the development of the field have not been published. On the other hand, party organs turn documents over to the archives after five years have passed; this creates great difficulties for those doing research on recent periods. The time has come to consider shortening the period. Equipping the archives with modern technology would free researchers from long, tedious work like copying out documents by hand. Some difficulties are artificial. In recent years we have often heard the complaint from our aspirants that working in party archives has turned into a very complicated affair: a short time is allocated to them for work in the archives during which they have access only to protocols. A special permit is needed to examine department materials.

Joint action by CPSU history departments is required so that research on party history becomes more productive and of higher quality. Departments are not conducting joint research; they scatter their efforts and many problems are not worked on jointly by our scholars.

There are many capable cadres working in the party history sector in our republic, and in recent years very talented young scholars have been added to their ranks. They are capable of fulfilling the duties the party has set before them.

9676/12223

**Public Input Solicited for 'People's History of Georgia'**  
18130439 Tbilisi KOMUNISTI in Georgian 22 May 88 p 4

[Article by Professor Tengiz Buachidze, chairman of the Georgian Culture Fund: "Let's Create a History of All the People. A Public Initiative"]

[Text]

#### A Letter to All the Inhabitants of Our Republic

The Georgian Culture Fund has decided to create a history of all the people of Soviet Georgia, based on the participation of all who so desire and drawing upon memories which probably all of us have.

We appeal to you, friends, with the request that to the best of your ability you describe what you recall from your past life (the period from 1921 to 1981) and send it to the Georgian Culture Fund.

We are especially interested in events of 1921, 1924, 1928-32, 1936-37-38, 1941-45, 1948, 1950-53, and 1956, although it is not absolutely necessary to restrict ourselves just to those years.

Naturally, the main focus in these recollections and descriptions of yours (or events recounted to you by your parents and grandparents) should be upon those events that are of interest to all of society.

Not everyone of course, has the same ability to describe what happened to him, what he participated in or witnessed. Not all recollections or information will be of the requisite literary quality. But this is not of crucial importance, because it can easily be taken care of. The main thing is that the material be presented truthfully, objectively, frankly, without fear, and without any internal or external censorship.

For understandable reasons, probably, the Georgian Culture Fund cannot yet undertake or promise you any recompense for your labor. It should be a contribution by every one of you to the creation of a people's history of Georgia which, I am convinced, will give you great moral satisfaction.

We promise you only that if the material which comes in is worthy of public attention, it will be published in some form and its authors will be made known.

We also promise that essentially nothing in the materials you submit will be changed without your permission and consent. The results of literary and stylistic processing which, we believe, some of the incoming material will require, will be discussed with the authors. For this reason, it will be essential that you supply us your address along with the material so that we may contact you in a timely manner, but if anyone deems it necessary for some reason or other to submit the material anonymously, we reserve the right to process the material without the author's consent.

The deadline for the submission of material is 15 January 1989.

Our address is as follows: 380008, Tbilisi, Rustaveli Prospekt No 48, Georgian Culture Fund (for materials submitted by mail write "for the people's history of Georgia" on the outside of the envelope).

With great hope and profound respect for all future authors, Tengiz Buachidze.

06854

**Georgian Church Restored Quickly With  
Villagers' Donations**  
18130425 Tbilisi AKHALGAZRDA KOMUNISTI  
in Georgian 19 Apr 88 p 2

[Gruzinform article: "Restored by Love"]

[Text] The Cathedral of Our Lady, an 18th-century architectural monument in Martkopi, has been restored. It has been restored with funds which were collected by the inhabitants of the village and allocated by the Georgian Society for the Protection of Historical and Cultural Monuments.

"You can hardly imagine how sad it was to look upon the ruins just a short while ago," says A. Ertelishvili, chairman of the Martkopi Selsoviet Ispolkom.

"Look at these," said Deputy Ispolkom Chairman L. Dzheranashvili, drawing my attention to some thick journals and notebooks. "These are lists of people who donated money for the restoration. Everyone, of course, gave however much he could afford. Nino Epitashvili, a retired lady, donated all her savings, 1000 rubles. Ketevan Karselishvili, a student, brought in one month's scholarship money. Two sisters, Marine and Eter Razmadze, followed Ketevan Bediashvili's example, donating their student savings and adding 100 rubles to the general fund. The list is rather long.... When they found out our intentions, our countrymen living in other rayons of the republic also expressed the desire to make their own contributions to the common cause. Of course, our desire alone would not have been enough to organize the restoration work. So we sought help from the Georgian SSR Council of Ministers Main Scientific-Production Administration for the Protection and Utilization of Historical, Cultural, and Natural Monuments. And now, you see, the cathedral has been restored."

"It was a great honor for me to be involved in this kind of work," said N. Zazunishvili, the architect who drew up the plans for the cathedral's restoration.

Works Supervisor O. Otiashvili had this to say: "No other monument has ever been restored in so short a time, just four years. We did it thanks to the help of the inhabitants of the village."

06854

**Azerbaijan Officials Harass Georgians Touring  
Church Ruins**  
18130426 Tbilisi LITERATURULI SAKARTVELO  
in Georgian No 22, 27 May 88 p 9

[Letter from D. Berulava, T. Gegeshidze, I. Melashvili, T. Zhuruli, N. Samsonia, O. Kikishvili, and N. Chichileishvili, all third-year students of Tbilisi State University's History Faculty: "The Rights of Mourners"]

[Text] Saingilo (the Ingilo Country) was a component part of Hereti from ancient times. The grave political situation in 18th-century Georgia caused this region to

be separated from the Kingdom of Kartli and Kakheti. It was regained only after considerable struggle. For various reasons, lands which the Georgian people shed their blood to defend wound up outside the boundaries of Georgia in the 20th century. We do not intend to stir up the past; time will do its own thing. What we want to do now is take a look at today.

Recently, we students of the history faculty visited Saingilo. While there we looked up the Kakhistavi Church. It was built in 1880 by Levan Babutsashvili, who is buried right there in the churchyard. At the present time, the church has been abolished and is used as a warehouse; a cattle shed has been built in the yard. Not very long ago the church was whitewashed with lime. On its facade someone has written with red paint, in Georgian, "9 February 1947 is election day for the Azerbaijan SSR Supreme Soviet." You can see places where crosses have been torn out of the wall by someone's wretched hands. A slogan has been posted at the entrance to the Kakhistavi Church: "Communists, be in the vanguard of the nationwide struggle to carry out the historic decisions of the 27th Congress!" If we do nothing else, let us at least implement the decrees of the congress.

We also looked up a 19th-century Georgian church known as Alaverdi. It has been converted into a regional museum of the Azerbaijan SSR. Georgian families hereabouts are keeping many items in their homes that are of ethnographic and archeological interest, but they have not had a chance to display them. Objects reflecting the culture and way of life of the Ingilo people need to be collected, examined, and protected as soon as possible.

We found that the Lekarti Women's Monastery is in the worst shape. This unique Georgian monument dates from the 8th through 12th centuries. At one time the monastery complex included nine churches; now it is nothing but ruins, which are in catastrophic condition. A tree has grown up in the middle of the central church, and in a year at most it will destroy the structure! The ceremonial entryway, wall, and wine cellar remain. The tunnels which once connected the monasteries with each other are full of dirt. Azerbaijani archeologists have done excavations on the monastery grounds.

Many sites need to be researched, but no one is in charge of them. Yet the local authorities assured us that the monument has its own watchman and responsible official. From what we have related you can tell how well they are performing their duties.

Having gone there for just about a half hour's visit, we were stopped as we were returning. People had heard about our coming, and the whole village was out on the road to "meet" us. One wonders by what law Selsoviet Chairman Nizam Abdulayev and Militia Officer Fezula Mamedov were acting when they forced us to get off the bus, searched us without any authorization [sanktsiya], and told us that we have the right to visit the Georgian monastery only with the consent of the village authorities and the state security organs. It took a lot of patience for us not to begin insisting on our own

lawful rights. N. Abdulayev refused to believe that we only wanted to tour the monument and were not motivated by any nationalistic feelings. After two hours of futile stalling, when they couldn't find a single excuse for detaining us, they let us go.

Any church that has been so godlessly abandoned is a "widowed monastery," and it is up to every one of us to help them "remarry." You may say that a lot of monuments on Georgian territory need help and protection. We are aware that Georgian monuments are in no better shape, that many monasteries here also need looking after, but along with this general concern in the Ingilo Country there is the additional fact that we don't have the chance to see them; we are not given the right to mourn our lost treasure.

We have the desire to restore the Lekarti monastery complex. In order to avoid any more unpleasantness with the local authorities of Kakhi, we decided to appeal for help to the Azerbaijan Komsomol Central Committee and the rectorate of Azerbaijan University. At one time we received support from Georgian Komsomol Central Committee First Secretary Dzh. Margvelidze and Tbilisi University Rector Nodar Amaglobeli, who wrote letters to the Azerbaijan Komsomol Central Committee and to Baku University. We hope that readers will respond to us and take this national concern to heart; we hope that the authorities will give us permission to save the Lekarti monastery complex solely on the grounds of mourners' rights....

06854

#### Publication of Georgian Bible 'Not Dangerous to Atheism'

[Editorial Report] 18130435 Tbilisi KOMUNISTI in Georgian on 7 May 1988 carries on page 3 under the rubric "Atheism" and the title "The Harvest Is Abundant....A Scientific Attitude Toward the Bible Reinforces Atheism's Position" Professor Doctor of Philosophy D. Gegeshidze's 1300-word article announcing the forthcoming publication of a new, full text of the Bible in modern Georgian and reassuring readers that the event does not constitute any "concession to religion" nor pose any "danger to atheism." The work is being undertaken by the Georgian Church leadership in

collaboration with highly qualified scientists and specialists, and it will be of great importance to the study of Georgian and world history and culture. At the same time, it will be useful to persons engaged in atheistic propaganda work, all too many of whom have at best a poor understanding of the Bible.

Such an undertaking was for years "an idle dream." The Bible has been perceived as something mystical, divine, and supernatural, on the one hand, or as the concoction of scoundrels and deceivers, on the other. Reading the Bible has been condemned as a negative activity.

Much of the blame goes to the clergy itself, who for centuries held uncritical attitudes toward the Bible and made everyone else accept it the same way, punishing "heretics" and scientists who questioned the Bible's version of the origin of the world, etc. But scholarly studies, archeology, and other kinds of research have demonstrated the earthly origin of the Bible, and many myths were cleared up, for example, by the discoveries at Qumran.

The author of the article points out that the Bible incorporates numerous ethnic, historical, cultural, and moral components from a great variety of sources and compiled by many different persons—a veritable "kaleidoscope" of rich elements which, polished through the centuries, became a masterpiece of world literature.

This will be a landmark event in Georgian cultural history and scholarship. The "Georgian Bible," of course, goes back centuries—to the first translations of the Psalms and the Gospels in the 4th and 5th centuries and, it is believed, the entire Scripture in the 5th through 7th centuries. The author of the article lists a number of early Georgian versions of parts of the Bible, some of which are still esteemed as classics (e.g., the Adishi Gospels of 897 and others). Through the vicissitudes of history, Georgians have not managed to preserve a complete and consistent early text—one more good reason for this new translation.

Gegeshidze then notes that "Georgians have never, in ancient times or more recently, been dogmatic fanatical Christians," nor did Georgian biblical translators do slavish, word-for-word jobs; rather, they rendered it in their own style. Georgian scholars have also been more interested than others in the so-called Apocryphal books, some of which were preserved only in Georgian versions.

06854

**Readers Voice Views on Planned Monument to Stalin's Victims**  
18000643 Moscow SOVETSKAYA KULTURA in Russian 18 Aug 88 p 4

[Eight readers' letters, titled: "Lesson and Testament," subtitled "Monument to Repression Victims: Opinions and Suggestions," under the "Echo of Our Publications" rubric; first two paragraphs are a boldface introduction]

**[Text]** The decision of the 19th All-Union CPSU Conference to commemorate the victims of Stalin's repressions has received strong emotional support from people of different age groups. This newspaper has already received numerous letters whose authors expressed an ardent wish to participate personally in the task of restoring justice and shared their memories, innermost thoughts and practical suggestions. Now that the "Memorial" society is being formed, the flow of such letters has increased considerably. By publishing some of them in this issue, we open a broad debate on the future monument. The editors feel that such questions as what the memorial should be like, how it can be made worthy of the popular respect for the innocent victims and how it can become a lesson of historical memory for the future generations should be decided collectively, by the entire society.

Write to us, the pages of SOVETSKAYA KULTURA are open to all opinions and suggestions, no matter how unusual or controversial.

"The decision to build a memorial to the victims of Stalin's terror was made at the 19th party conference. This is encouraging, but the sad experience of building the Victory Monument in Moscow gives rise to a concern that the planning and construction of the memorial may stretch over many years and even decades. Without rejecting the idea of a memorial structure, I think that we should, in the near future, start setting up a memorial museum in Moscow and place memorial plaques at the sites of "famous" prisons and labor camps and at great construction projects where millions of prisoners toiled, most of them posthumously rehabilitated.

"Such memorial plaques should be placed at the main squares of cities such as Magadan, Vorkuta, Norilsk and Ukhta, which were built by prisoners, as well as on the entrance and exit locks of the canals Moscow-Volga, White Sea-Baltic and others.

"Solovki deserves a particular mention, for it was there that the Solovki Special Purpose Camp (SLON) was set up in 1923. That camp was reorganized in 1933 into the 8th department of the NKVD's White Sea-Baltic project and in mid-1937 into the Solovki Special Purpose Prison (STON).

"Solovki is now a site of a nature preserve and a museum, but there is no room there devoted to the victims of Stalin's repressions held at Solovki. Tour guides are not allowed to mention either this 'blank spot'

or the names of the many prominent persons who were held there, such as Professor P. Florenskiy; People's Actor, director A. Kurbas; the Comintern ispolkom's secretary A. Rudnyanskiy and others.

"An exhibit should be soon set up at the Solovki museum to shed light on this dark page of history. I can act as a consultant to the museum on the conditions in the camp in the 1935-1938 period. In those years I served time at Solovki, where I was sent aged 15 years and after 19 years of camps and internal exile was fully rehabilitated."

Signed: Professor Yu. Chirkov, Ph.D., Geography.

"The monument should not be just a place to commemorate innocent victims of repressions and injustice, nor should it be a symbolic common grave. By creating the monument, we pay tribute to what most of the victims were actually able to do for the revolution, the Motherland and the people. And they did a great deal. In other words, in the artistic image of the monument, martyrdom alone should not predominate.

"Let the spirit of the monument address not only the past but the future as well, as testimony that justice and truth will always triumph. 'Their graves will grow over with weeds,' wrote the newspapers in the 1930s referring to the false enemies of the people, but the time has come and truth has triumphed. The monument must teach future generations that no matter how powerful temporal rulers may seem, how completely the myths created by them possess the minds of the people, there is on this earth, and there will always be, the higher court of history that will issue the final verdict. The monument is a great lesson and a testament for those who will come after us.

"The place of this memorial is by the Kremlin wall, where many of those who perished have the unquestionable right to be interred. Let it be the section of the wall facing the Aleksandrovskiy Garden, a distance from the Tomb of the Unknown Soldier, at a place accessible without lines or special visiting hours. The monument is a tragic but unalienable part of our revolution, our history. Which means Moscow, Red Square, the Kremlin... I cannot think of another place for it."

Signed: Academician P. Simonov, Moscow.

"How can a monument to the victims of Stalin's repressions stand in Moscow? Next to the headstones of those who were guilty of those repressions, their torturers and murderers: Stalin, Zhdanov, Vyshinskiy, Voroshilov and others? Especially not at the center of Moscow, by the Lenin Mausoleum, which is our holy place. Can not this question be resolved at last? It is a shame: we all know that neither Brezhnev, nor Suslov, nor Chernenko . . . deserved to be buried next to Lenin, but they are and their steels are still there; they must be moved to an ordinary cemetery immediately, just as Rashidov has been reburied in Tashkent. What are we waiting for, shamefully, losing time? We no longer believe that this

will happen. There are voices being heard already, many of them, that this is history, let them be. Right, let them be, but not by the Mausoleum, not by our holy site. We must not turn Red Square into a burial ground for simple-minded politicians. And the streets, too, must be renamed; how long are we going to write about it, wait for it and hope that a commission is working, as we have been told, and that this commission will rule on everything. It seems that the commission has been working poorly, or perhaps it has not been working at all: we are simply being fooled by these assurances. Please, publish this letter, it has been a very painful subject."

Signed: Engineer V. Kabanov, Sverdlovsk

"A lot has been written and said about creating a monument to the victims of the repressions of the 1930s-1950s. The idea has been approved by the 19th party conference. I wholeheartedly support it, even though I was born after Stalin's death (I am 34 years old). But it is frightening to think that millions of roubles of the people's money will be wasted on another pile of concrete that does nothing either for the mind or for the heart. A monument must live and function, and elevate people spiritually. In Russia, from a very ancient time on, temples were built in memory of military heroes and martyrs. The following idea appeals to me (even though to others it may seem controversial and totally unrealistic). I propose to rebuild, using money contributed by the entire people (as it was done in the 19th century), the temple of Christ the Savior, which itself was a victim of Stalinism. By resurrecting the temple from the blood and ashes of those awful years we will bring back all our innocently murdered compatriots. The temple should have a museum containing actual and authentic documents, and around it there should be a green park. Such a monument would be visited by millions of Soviet people and foreign tourists. Rebuilding the temple would signal to all that truth has triumphed in the USSR! And it would be wonderful if the rebuilding could begin in the year of the 1,000 anniversary of Christianity in Russia. I am not a believer, but I think this would be the best solution for a monument that is so important to our times and so grand in its conception and size."

Signed: A. Nevolin, Moscow

"The competition to design the monument and the memorial institution should be open and national in scope. There should be no special commissions and no privilege-based approach. Let everyone participate who wants to, professionals as well as amateurs, and let the most talented win, and not the one who has more titles and positions. Otherwise, contentedness would produce mediocrity."

"The rules of the competition should exclude any financial prizes for best works. This question should be addressed after the competition is over. In this case, there would be no flood of tasteless works. The panel of judges for the competition should be chosen democratically and in the open. If it were similar to the panel that

judged the Victory Monument competition, it would be a tragic mistake. The judges should be well-known and distinguished figures in the field of culture and history. To achieve this, artistic unions should be asked to elect a set number of judges to the panel."

Signed: I. Sivur, Mytishi, Moscow Oblast

"I would like to take a direct part in the work of the organizing conference and later in the organization and functioning of the society itself. I would be willing to do any work within the framework of the 'Memorial' society. To uncover the shameful and awful past and thereby restore historical truth is the best guarantee against similar things repeating in the future."

"Open and hidden enemies of the current perestroika are those who either do not know or do not want to know the truth about the past. Even now they worship that awful and in many ways shameful past of ours. The truth about the past, nothing but the truth! Nothing but historical truth, however bitter or harsh. In this I see the principal idea of establishing the society and building the memorial itself. No one and nothing should be forgotten."

"A few words about myself: from 1949 to 1957 I was imprisoned as an enemy of the people, convicted by the infamous Article 58. In 1957 I was rehabilitated. For 30 years after being let out, I have kept silent and only now I begin to feel as a human being, able to think and breathe free."

Signed: I. Reznichenko, Kiev

"At the party meeting of the Writers' Union of Armenia, which took place on June 6, 1988, it was decided to 'hold a popular debate on the proposal to build a monument to the victims of Stalin's tyranny in Yerevan.' We express our support for the Armenian writers' initiative and are convinced that the idea of building a monument will receive complete popular support, will be of crucial importance for implementing democratic reforms in the republic and will become a guarantee against a similar tragedy being repeated."

"We feel that it is our professional duty to respond to the construction of the monument, since it will require the input of an architect, a sculptor and an artist, and we are convinced that the society's commission to build a monument to the victims of Stalin's tyranny will be regarded by Armenian architects, sculptors and artists as a task of paramount importance."

"We are calling on the leadership of the Architects' Union and the Artists' Union of Armenia to discuss the idea of building a monument at a joint meeting and to make appropriate practical decisions with regard to holding a competition, determining the character of the monument and selecting the site for it."

Signed: Members of the USSR Architects' Union A. Tarkhanyan, ArSSR People's Architect, laureate of USSR and ArSSR state prizes; G. Pogosyan, laureate of USSR and ArSSR state prizes; S. Kndekhtsyan, ArSSR Merited Architect; M. Aspatyan, Candidate in Architecture, and K. Balyan, Candidate in Architecture, Yerevan.

"My father served in the armed forces since the age of 18 years, from 1938 to 1945, retreating with the cavalry from the Western Ukraine to Stalingrad and advancing with the artillery to Budapest; he was wounded several times. After the war he spent two years looking for his father—my grandfather—who had been arrested in 1942 (and rehabilitated in the 1950s) only because he was an ishan (a Muslim religious title).

"I think that the monument should reflect the sheer number of the victims: men, women, old people, children, soldiers, intellectuals, peasants and workers. The monument should be built in Red Square in Moscow, next to or, better still, directly across from Stalin's monument. Let the two monuments stand there, staring each other in the eye. (Behind Stalin, in the Kremlin wall, Vyshinskiy and others are buried.) Those who are buried next to Stalin and behind him, and who are innocent before the people, there is no need for them to hide their eyes. But those who are guilty, let them forever look in the eye of their victims.

"We are used to the notion that memory and glory are synonymous. No, memory can be a lesson, glory or a reproach, as well as a source of pride or an admonition.

"Artistically, the monument should be as plain as possible. No excesses or pomp.

"I imagine it as a wall about 3 meters high and 10 meters long. They are carved in relief all along the wall, and stand looking at us. They are numerous, and there is not enough room for all of them. Some stand on the cobblestones of the square, one can walk around them or stand next to them. They are similar to us in everything, even in height, except they are dressed differently (Remember Rodin's 'Citizens of Calais'). They are our great grandfathers, grandfathers, fathers and brothers, their wives and children are next to us, it is us.

"I am against removing Stalin, Vyshinskiy and others from Red Square. Let us not do that. This is our History. Yet, it is the history of personalities, of heroes; it is a one-sided history, for show, not the people's history."

Signed: A. Zholdasov, Nukus

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**Zalgin, Baruzdin Discuss Publishing Plans**  
*18000631 Moscow LITERATURNAYA GAZETA in Russian 3 Aug 1988 p 7*

[Interviews with Sergey Baruzdin, editor-in-chief of the journal DRUZHBA NARODOV, and Sergey Zalgin, editor-in-chief of the journal NOVYY MIR; time, place and interviewer not specified]

[Text]

**Interview with Sergey Baruzdin, editor-in-chief of DRUZHBA NARODOV:**

We never tire of repeating that the most important role in paving the way for perestroika was played by such literary genres as the essay and social and political article. But today, if you will, these genres are taking on even greater significance, because prose and poetry cannot instantaneously respond to the events in our fast moving and continually changing reality. It is thus a very good thing that our journalists are already actively intervening in this vital process, constantly telling us about the progress of perestroika, about which inhibitory forces are operating, and what new contradictions are arising in the economic, social, and spiritual spheres. This is why in the second half of this year and beyond we will open many of our issues not just to prose or poetry but to true, publicist writing, written at the level of literature. The journal's plans call for coverage of such important topics as new thinking in the economic sphere, including issues of both theory and practice; further deepening of the analysis of the life of our society in light of the resolutions of the XIXth All-Union Party Conference; the resolution concerning the Foodstuffs Program, which was also approved at the party conference as a first priority goal. (We intend to constantly tell our readers how the Party's and government's decrees concerning adoption of a cost accounting basis for agriculture are being implemented in practice and what is hindering their realization.) We will also cover "The ecology of nature and the ecology of the individual," a topic with which we, unfortunately, concerned ourselves little in the past, but to which we now plan to devote serious attention.

[Question] Today, for all publications, but especially for a paper bearing the title DRUZHBA NARODOV, the issue of interethnic relationships takes on enormous importance. What materials are you planning to publish related on this topic?

[Answer] Not long ago, as a result of all those negative phenomena, which we have recently come to see so clearly and which have gone on for so many years, we created a new section in our journal called "National groups and the World." Starting with the sixth issue for this year, this section will include very important and timely articles. Naturally, we will devote much attention to issue of relations between ethnic groups next year as well. Without a doubt, we will be aided by the expanded

session of our editorial committee which took place literally a few days ago and brought in authors from the republics for special discussion. What is the position of the journal on such issues? If we are to rise above the errors of the past, it is highly essential that perestroika encompass the comprehensive spiritual, economic and social development of individual ethnic groups and peoples. However, we believe that these problems must be solved in such a way as to foster the most important goal—strengthening of interethnic cohesion and unity. After all, unfortunately the events surrounding Nagornyy Karabakh on both sides, demonstrated that when the elemental forces are allowed to rampage, they swallow everything in their paths, including positive principles. Thus, it is most important that the solution of such cardinal problems proceed on the basis of the mutual respect of each national group for the other. I would almost say the respect that all intelligent, cultured people accord each other. I will cite but two of the works in our journal, which, it seems to me, reflect our range of coverage of ethnic issues. We are publishing a work, "To Save the Ukrainians," from the archives of academician V. I. Vernadskiy, which, in many respects, resonates with the issues touched on in B. Oleynik's speech at the party conference. We are planning to publish a long work by B. Kholopov, "Dialogue in a Caucasian Triangle." It is applicable to the interrelationships which have grown up around Nagornyy Karabakh as well as to an analysis of, for example, the relationships of Georgia and the Northern Caucasus, where all such problems are solved in another manner. There are the problems of the Baltic peoples, the so-called Jewish question, and many other local and regional problems—we are trying not to bypass any of them.

[Quest. 1] Judging by the notices you publish from time to time on the last page of your journal, you intend to expand the section devoted to our literary heritage.

[Answer] This was always one of our larger sections. Now we are indeed intending to expand it somewhat by including previously unpublished works by literary scholars and critics from the fraternal republics. Many "blank spots" have also accrued in the ethnic literatures of our country. It must be said that the positive changes which have occurred during the period of restructuring have affected mainly Russian literature. Perhaps, it was the case that sometimes in the republics certain names were treated with great caution, with people wanting to receive specific instructions from Moscow concerning virtually every one. Here is but one example. In our July issue, we published "Tale of the Sanitary Zone" by M. Khvylev. This Ukrainian classic fell victim to the cult of personality. And now after many decades of oblivion it is being printed in translation in Russian.

[Question] Nevertheless, the major portion of DRUZHBA NARODOV by rights is given over to prose. What will you do for your readers in the near future and next year?

[Answer] We are preparing to print a novel composed of short stories by Ch. Amiredzhibi, "Where the Stars Fall." He decided to become an author when he was not all that far away, it is based on labor camp material. However, even today this is a very timely work. We will print works by M. Alger, G. Baklanov, A. Bitov, V. Bykov, D. Granin, Ch. Guseynov, Yu. Davydov, V. Kaverin, Ye. Kaplinskii, V. Kondratyev, N. Konchalovskiy, and B. Okudzhava. I think that our reader will be interested in the unpublished work of A. Bek, "The Next Day." This work seems to me even stronger than "New Function." We are publishing R. Medvedov's book "Khrushchev." We are also planning on publishing his "Brezhnev." The famous satirist L. Likhodeyev will appear in a new role. He is the author of a story about N. Bukharin, "The Swearing Field." One of its chapters will be published this year. Judging from our mail, our readers are impatiently awaiting A. Rybakov's novel "Thirty-five and Other Years." Part one of this book will be published in the September and October issues for 1988, and part two next year. If during the years of stagnation, we were able only with difficulty to publish a few things by V. Tendryakov (we managed to get "Sixty Candles" published, but not "The Pure Waters of Kitezh"), then he himself never even attempted to offer the journal "People and Nonpeople," understanding that it was condemned to go unpublished. Soon the readers of DRUZHBA NARODOV will be able to become acquainted with this work of the remarkable writer. O. Trifonova-Miroshnichenko has offered us a novel about her husband, which is called "Attempt At Farewell." We think that the historic-revolutionary novel by O. Chiladze, "March Rooster" will meet with much response.

I would like especially to cite such names as A. Averchenko, N. Virts, B. Pilnyak, G. Ivanov, L. Brik, V. Katanyan, whose works will also be published in DRUZHBA NARODOV.

#### Interview with Sergey Zalygin, editor-in-chief of NOVYY MIR:

[Question] Today "NOVYY MIR" conjures up two images in our minds. One is the journal edited by A. Tvardovskiy, which even now evokes passionate arguments and discussions, as well as "variant readings"; the other is the NOVYY MIR of the late eighties, which, evidently, must confront a complex task—to be worthy of the old NOVYY MIR traditions.

[Answer] The traditions of A. Tvardovskiy are simple enough, to put out a good journal. We will make every effort to follow them. I do not really want to show all our cards (after all, a few things may not work out), but I believe that next year the journal will be even more interesting than it is now. We have been promised new works by Ch. Aytmatov (the novel "Mother of God in the Snow"), A. Bitov (the story "Japan as She Really Is"), I. Velembovskaya (the novel tentatively titled "The Foreigners"), D. Granin (the novel "Source of Love"), V. Krupin ("Paper," also tentative, in a genre the author

ironically call a "novel-testament"). Our editorial portfolio contains V. Belov's novel "The Year of the Great Break Through," which is probably the most interesting, significant and tragic thing he has ever written. I think that the publication of Yu. Dombrovskiy's remarkable novel "Department of Unnecessary Things" will be a real event for our readers. S. Antonov, V. Astafyev, V. Bykov, F. Iskander, R. Kireyev, Yu. Nagibin, V. Rasputin, M. Roshchin, V. Soloukin, and T. Tolstaya will continue to contribute.

For many years, I, as the chairman of the prose council of the RSFSR Writers' Union often traveled with my colleagues to various cities and thus am well acquainted with many young prose writers. We have not yet decided whether we will devote a whole issue to them or publish them in various issues. But one thing is certain we will publish the young.

In foreign prose we will publish V. Woolf's novel "To the Lighthouse," G. Orwell's "1984," and others.

[Question] Sergey Pavlovich, in literary and associated circles there are persistent rumors that NOVYY MIR is preparing to publish A. Solzhenitsyn. But rumors aside, one recalls that Tvardovskiy in his time concluded an agreement with Solzhenitsyn on "Cancer Ward." Are you not planning to make good on the debts of the old editors?

[Answer] It has not been ruled out. It has not been ruled out at all. By the way, I should mention that we are getting very many offers from emigres of various generations. We are refusing many of them, but are going to publish one or two things.

[Question] Please decode a mysterious phrase (no names are mentioned) in the notices of the journal: "Poetry will be represented by new poems from famous, little known, and unknown poets of various generations, schools and national traditions."

[Answer] I confess that we were not too eager to publish famous masters. No offense, but the readers know them well, and they are interesting only if they show some new quality, which they do not always succeed in doing. We will take a chance on poets who are interesting, but unknown to the general public. In my opinion, we have published many such significant selections this year. Now, we have filled our poetry section with the poetry of new contributors, since we have placed our hopes for the future on their "experimental" work.

[Question] Will there be any new sections or departments in the journal?

[Answer] We are beginning a new series: "Articles and essays from the history of ideas in the fatherland at the end of the 19th and first half of the 20th century." After all previously this cultural area was virtually closed [to us]. For us the philosophers of that period were limited to Radishchev, Chaadayev, Tolstoy, and Dostoyevskiy.

But there is an enormous blank spot here that has to be filled in. We will publish excerpts from the works and articles of N.A. Berdyayev, S.N. Bulgakov, D.S. Merezhkovskiy, V.S. Solovyev, P.B. Struve, N.V. Ustryalov, N.F. Fedorov, and others.

[Question] Such complex material will undoubtedly require extensive commentary?

[Answer] Of course; this department will be headed a scholar with the highest qualifications, S. Averintsev, and there will be "accompanying" articles by major experts.

[Question] NOVYY MIR has always been famous for its social and political journalism. Do you intent to expand this area or will you stick to the directions followed in recent years with material related mainly to economics, sociology, and ecology?

[Answer] May God grant us the strength to cope with these problems. No, we definitely intend to go for depth, not breadth. After all social and political journalism is a separate genre: for a long time after the publication of one or another article, the editors must continue to deal with the problems it has raised, especially when the subject is timely and urgent. And you have to be equal to this task, you have to have the strength, knowledge, persistence, and logic.

But other "less urgent" articles are neither interesting to our journal, nor to our experienced authors, like, for example, Yu. Afanasyev, F. Burlatskiy, I. Klyamkin, G. Lisichkin, A. Nuykin, V. Ovchinnikov, V. Selyunin, V. Tsvetov, Yu. Chernichenko, N. Shmelov.

[Question] What can you say about articles in the criticism section?

[Answer] The principle we will follow in this section is that we will publish only material which, in our view, will live for five years. We consider that there are enough other more pragmatic organs of print for articles devoted to the issues of the moment (perhaps, even associated with some sort of group interests). It is not that we want to occupy a special position in literature. We are simply convinced that each journal must have its own face, its own method of selecting material.

And, in addition, we plan to publish thoughts about trends in contemporary prose, about the literary panorama of the 20s and 30s, about social/philosophical fantasy, and about new trends in graphic arts and the theater. Here we will include articles by S. Bocharov on V. Khodasevich, I. Dedkov about V. Grossman, and N. Korzhavin about the work of A. Akhmatova.

[Question] What articles on our literary heritage will the reader of NOVYY MIR encounter?

[Answer] We will print diaries, memoirs, and letters by M. Babanova, M. Voloshina, N. Klyuyev, N. Kondrat'yev, M. Prishvin, Aleksandra Tolstaya, and V. Khodasevich. G. Gazdanov's "Evening at Claire's" is interesting. In the 20s this work was extremely popular throughout the world. The talented author was 24 years old at the time. We also intend to publish a play by V. Nabokov "Vals' Invention," published in 1938 in America. Aside from the authors named, the "Literary Heritage" department will present F. Abramov, I. Bunin, M. Gorkiy, Yu. Kazakov, A. Platonov, A. Remizov, V. Tendryakova, V. Shalarmov, and M. Sholokhov.

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### Response to Ryazanov Claim of TV Censorship Continues

**Problems With Documentary on Kasparov**  
18000591 Moscow OGONEK in Russian No 25,  
18-25 Jun 88 p 27

[Article by Vadim Leybovskiy: "How the 'Thirteenth' Broke Through"; first paragraph is OGONEK introduction]

[Text] In No 14 we published an article, noticed by many readers, by the People's Artist of the USSR, Eldar Ryazanov, discussing the problems of Soviet television and criticizing a number of situations and broadcasts—an article that was noted by many readers. After some time, OGONEK received a reply from the State Committee for Television and Radio Broadcasting. We prepared it for publication in the past issue, together with a selection of articles and letters that we have received in connection with the discussion of the problems of television. Then, at the request of the State Committee for Television and Radio Broadcasting, we withdrew their answer from the issue, but at the same time decided that it will be more fruitful to continue the discussion that has aroused interest, and not to limit ourselves to the one-time publication of the letter and our commentary. The note of V. Leybovskiy and the article of V. Tsvetov to which attention is being called came into existence precisely in the process of our study of the problems that have accumulated in television and in the spheres of art and life associated with them.

The path of the documentary film "The Thirteenth" to the audience proved to be agonizingly difficult. The very mechanics of the braking, its causes and the motives of interested people are interesting.

The dust on the boxes containing the film has settled a tiny bit more, the film has not lost its topicality. "The Thirteenth" is a film about Garri Kasparov.

"What fears can keep a film about the championship in chess on the shelf in our time?" is the question asked in bewilderment by the reader, to whom it has not only been suggested, but graphically, on the basis of examples, demonstrated today: Now one can and should talk about everything.

Perhaps the work was done clumsily? No, at the beginning of January of this year, the film was accepted by the governing body of the creative association "Ekran."

So, perhaps, the "indisputability" of the personality of the hero has suddenly proved to be in doubt? No.

Then what is the matter?

Here is an excerpt from the protocol of the Commission on Disputed Creative Questions of the USSR Union of Cinematographers, signed by the acting first secretary of the board, A. Smirnov, and the chairman of the commission, the chairman of the union, A. Plakhov:

"The commission believes that the film has unquestionable ideological and artistic merits. In essence, we have before us almost the first attempt to bring to light the character and causes of the stagnation phenomena in our society on the example of our country's sports, its "higher stories." The following become the subject of examination: Bureaucratic mechanisms, the absence of glasnost, the methods of repressing the individual, administrative-command methods of management that led to amoral actions, the disregard for the foundations of socialist morality. . . . Problems are raised in the picture which require immediate actions. The civic spirit of the film is helped by its accurate artistic solution, the film is viewed with lively interest, it depicts the image of a talented, charming and striking personality—the current world champion in chess. . . ."

Did you understand everything, dear reader? The film shows the struggle for truth, for the opportunity to discuss urgent problems honestly. It tells about the activity of the administration of the USSR State Committee for Sports, which tried to hinder the honest and true revelation of the victor in the course of the duel for the chess crown.

In the film, it would seem, there is no inevitably expected personal opposition, there is no elucidation of the relations between two outstanding masters. The world champion expresses sincere admiration for the talent of his competitor, his will and strength of spirit—to retain the title of the strongest chess player in the world for 10 years!

So it turned out that Anatoliy Karpov proved to be one of the *dramatis personae* of a dramatic subject who was connected with the stopping of the Moscow match. And it is no secret that many chess enthusiasts proposed the participation of Karpov in such a solution. However, in

the film this idea does not even show through. It is precisely the administrative-bureaucratic system that is the subject of discussion from the screen.

I talked with the writer Daniil Danin, with Yuriy Vasilchuk, a doctor of philosophy, a master of sports in chess, and the chairman of the chess federation of the trade unions, with Aleksandr Veyn, the well-known psychiatrist and doctor of medicine. They are unanimous with respect to the main thing: The film raises acute problems which go far beyond the problems chess and sports as a whole. The film is about us, about the problems of social relations. It should be shown to a wide audience. Moreover, it is not accidental that in the excerpt from the protocol cited above there is the phrase: "... problems are raised which demand immediate actions." This is why they "held back" the film and tripped it. And put it on the shelf. Who said: "Stop?"

The film was accepted by the governing body of the creative association "Ekran" during the first days of January. It remained only for the governing board of the State Committee for Television and Radio Broadcasting to approve it, which usually happens without delays. Almost as a formality.

However, the first deputy chairman of the State Committee for Television and Radio Broadcasting, L. P. Kravchenko, in our case proved to be a vehement enemy of formalism. He said: "I will watch it attentively."

A month passed. The first deputy chairman did not sign the document concerning the acceptance of the film. Soon the governing board of the creative association "Ekran" informed the producer A. Mikhaylovskiy: "You did not make the kind of film which our society needs. Society needs a film about an outstanding chess player, and you made a film about his difficult fate."

Another month or two passed. The film, whose production cost the government 90,000 rubles, lay "at the bottom." What awaited it? A quiet funeral. How is it produced? A document is created with the substantiation, with an indication of the reasons for which the burial should be carried out. But what reasons? How to formulate them? In our days this is a difficult matter. As we see, already 4 months had passed to think it over.

But if there is no document about burial, another one is needed—about the completion of the work. A third one is not given, cannot be, such is the procedure. And "another" document was signed. Its name—lay-out sheets, in other words, the developed scenario of already executed work. Soon they circulated the picture.

The complete production circle was completed. The boxes with the reels of film could now be distributed to the television centers of the country. However, the reasons why this could not be done had not yet been invented by the executives of the State Committee for Television and Radio Broadcasting. In addition to

everything, they were also at the plenum of the Union of Cinematographers, which was held at the end of March of this year, where they heard from the deputy chief of the Department of Propaganda of the CPSU Central Committee, V. N. Sevruk, the following words (although at that moment another film was being discussed):

"... Yes, it is possible that the artist made a mistake. Well, made a mistake. Show the film and make comments (applause). Because neither the work, nor he himself who worked, invested talent and soul, should suffer. This is not provided for by any statutes. This is provided for simply by the backward thinking of the past years. . . . Let us together change what is subject to change, support what is coming into being."

In mid-April, the editors of OGONEK turned to the director of the creative association "Ekran", G. Ya. Taranenko, with the request to make it possible for the collective of the editors to see "The Thirteenth." A month later, we received the following reply: "In connection with your letter, I inform you that the governing board of the State Committee for Television and Radio Broadcasting has proposed the specification of some episodes of the film "The Thirteenth". Since the work on the picture has *not yet been completed* (italics mine.—V.L.), we cannot organize the preview for which you have asked. Director of the creative association "Ekran" G. Ya. Taranenko."

As we see, the executives of the State Committee for Television and Radio Broadcasting still have not invented reasons. They have dragged out the time, declaring the finished film as incomplete.

Moreover, they did not lose time to no purpose. They involved interested people in the deliberation. In mid-February the film "The Thirteenth" was shown to the first deputy chairman of the USSR State Committee for Physical Culture and Sports, N. I. Rusak, and the chief of the Chess Administration, N. V. Krogius. That is, to the very people against whom the film present the most serious claim. And all the time they procrastinated and procrastinated, trying to find arguments against—carrying more weight.

\* \* \*

And, I am afraid, they would invent. But—the time now is not right for this. And this material had already been given to the editorial board, when the news arrived from Ashkhabad: At the 11th All-Union Festival of Sports Films, "The Thirteenth" received the Gold Medal. With great difficulty the film had penetrated Ashkhabad. And no one in Ashkhabad shared the fears of the State Committee for Physical Culture and Sports and the State Committee for Television and Radio Broadcasting. All applauded "The Thirteenth." It conducted itself in a sportsmanlike manner. It broke through. Long live the truth!

P. S. On 27 May, a preview of "The Thirteenth" took place in the Central House of Cinema, then—a stormy discussion. All were unanimous: The film should be shown to a wide audience. The editor in chief of the documentary studio of the creative association "Ekran", R. Andreyev, stood up and assured those assembled that on 3-4 June "The Thirteenth" will be on the air. Applause resounded.

Alas, they clapped for nothing. They missed. June 18 has already come. This time, too, the State Committee for Television and Radio Broadcasting, has deceived us.

**OGONEK Answers Gosteleradio Rebuttal**  
18000591 Moscow OGONEK in Russian No 26,  
25 Jun-2 Jul 1988 p 26

[Unattributed report: "What the State Committee for Television and Radio Broadcasting Failed to Mention"; first paragraph is OGONEK introduction]

[Text] Issue No 14 of OGONEK published a letter by E. Ryazanov, which contained a critique of the USSR State Committee for Television and Radio Broadcasting and the style of work of the television subordinated to it. Moreover, the competence of S. Kononykhin, the specialist on figure skating, who has been appointed to direct the film editors of Central Television, was called into question.

The answer was not long in coming. We prepared it for the press together with our commentary, of whose content we did not make any secret. This is precisely where it began.

They called us repeatedly, on behalf of the governing board of television they asked us to return the reply, and the assistant of one of the executives of Central Television, L. Kravchenko, twice came to the editorial offices to pick it up. All of this after the phone calls: "It is not the time right now to strain relations—let us live peacefully, don't print either the reply or a commentary." In the issue passed for printing on 14 June, we reported that, at the request of the State Committee for Television and Radio Broadcasting, we will not discuss their letter, which focused on the discussion of the problems of television. And here, having reworked their reply to E. Ryazanov, having removed the places on which we had commented, and not having signed, as in the official letter to OGONEK, the executives of the State Committee for Television and Radio Broadcasting, on 16 June 1988, in SOVETSKAYA KULTURA, published the article "What Eldar Ryazanov Failed to Mention," having attacked the journal and the author of the article published in it. We were, indeed, warned, that this will happen, if we feel sorry not for the television viewers, but for the television executives; we made a blunder, but at least we now know with whom we are dealing. Meeting the desires of the executives of the State Committee for Television and Radio Broadcasting half-way and correcting our negligence, we are publishing today those very selected places which were delicately omitted by the

opponents in the letter which they published in SOVETSKAYA KULTURA, and our same commentary of which we made no secret in its time:

"Ryazanov complains about the strictness of television editors. . . . In the broadcast "Evening on Ostankino," the story about how V. I. Lenin and A. V. Lunacharsky visited an exhibit of abstract art, which was interpreted in a strange way by Ryazanov, on the basis of fundamental considerations. Let us cite this fragment verbatim: "They walked through the hall, where some circles, squares, something very strange, some simply white pages were hanging, and Vladimir Ilyich bent forward to Lunacharsky and said: "Anatoliy Vasilyevich, do you understand anything?" Anatoliy Vasilyevich, a man of high culture, stooped to Lenin and said: "Vladimir Ilyich, to be honest, I do not understand anything." And they left the premises on tip-toes. Ryazanov concludes: "This was the first Soviet government which did not understand anything in art."

Here, as they say, commentary is superfluous. It is only worthwhile to add one thing for the deciphering of Ryazanov's political crossword puzzle. It is well known that V. I. Lenin was very tolerant in questions of art, considering a maximum of freedom for the artist necessary for the development of his spiritual and creative potential. But as the leader of a political party he fought with great energy for the philosophical, moral and aesthetic positions that correspond to the communist ideals.

And, finally, the history of the creation of the broadcast about Vysotsky, executed like a detective story by Ryazanov, also needs to be cleared up. In this case, too, the author of the article does not tell the whole truth, but only that part of it which is advantageous to him.

Ryazanov did not have to "push through" this broadcast. His proposal was accepted at once. According to the original plan, the broadcast was to have consisted of three parts, for which television allotted considerable funds. For the acquisition of foreign video materials about Vysotsky, several thousand rubles worth of foreign exchange were released. As the materials accumulated, its contours and conception began to show more clearly. Ryazanov proposed to make not three, but four parts. We agreed to this as well, taking into consideration the great expenditures of the state committee for the creation of this program.

With the consent of Ryazanov, it was decided to time the showing of the four-part broadcast with the 50th anniversary of Vladimir Vysotsky. For several months it awaited its appearance. But not this, as follows from the article, is the reason of the conflict, but the exclusion of the first 7.5 minutes from the fourth part.

In the story, which Ryazanov considers the "ideological center" of the broadcast, the following assertion of his became determining: "In general our poets, as a rule, for some reason do not live long." Following the line from

Gumilev, who, as Ryazanov said, "was suspected of conspiracy against Soviet power and who was shot in 1921 or 1922," to Vysotsky, "whose fate also was not sweet," the author put in the same row Blok, Yesenin, Mayakovsky, Mandelstam, Akhmatova, Tsvetayeva, and Pasternak. Outstanding names, and they make an impression. But let us consider more deeply. You see, the fate of everyone of the enumerated poets developed quite differently. And, moreover, if truth is dear to us, one can cite a rather long list of well-known Soviet poets, including, incidentally, Akhmatova and Pasternak, whose lifetime, fortunately, did not prove to be short. The adjustment of facts according to a conception of a political mercilessness drawn up *a priori* turned against the best motives of the author, led to distorted conclusions.

It remained for us to answer the last question: Perhaps, in television they have actually established a special censorship for the broadcast of E. Ryazanov? "They cut out" the most valuable places? No. Television editors, as editors in our entire press, have the right and are obligated to demand one thing from authors—not to allow factual errors, inaccuracies and unauthentic information. This is what explained our editorial interference. . . .

One of us, namely S. N. Kononykhin, received the special attention of Ryazanov, both as a figure skater, a sports judge, and as a simply incompetent man. In our youth, all of us were fascinated by different types of sports. Figure skating is not the worst of them, especially if one has in mind the formation of aesthetic tastes. But in this case, for the assessment of the competence of S. Kononykhin, it is more important to know something else: He finished the Academy of Social Sciences at the CPSU Central Committee in the faculty of art theory and defended his candidate dissertation. Why here, too, confuse the issue?

In conclusion, we want to underscore: The statement of Ryazanov not only discouraged, but also deeply offended many television officials who experienced a sincere feeling of sympathy for him.

To be disappointed is always painful.

#### Our Commentary

We did not disturb a single comma in the letter signed by the responsible officials of Central Television. We did this for considerations of principle. The point is that the basic pathos of E. Ryazanov's article was directed against the scissors, abundantly used by the editors of Central Television in the preparation of its materials for the air.

Of extreme interest seemed to us the reminder to the "professional" producer Ryazanov that montage in cinema and television "is a necessary means of art that is being used in the preparation of films and programs, the selection of the most expressive fragments for the creation of a film

production that is unified in content, expressive and colorful in form, and harmonious in composition." We were not too lazy to ask E. Ryazanov whether he knew, prior to the letter from Central Television, what montage in cinema and television is. He completely frankly acknowledged that he did not know, and for this reason he is sincerely grateful to the authors for the lesson. Let us add ourselves that Ryazanov raises a slightly different question in his article, namely: Who should be engaged in montage, selecting "the most expressive fragments?" The author or the editor? And if the editor, too, then does he have the right to make cuts without the consent of the author? Unfortunately, the responsible workers of Central Television, having called their letter "What Did E. Ryazanov Fail to Mention in the Epoch of Glasnost?", for some reason were modestly silent, not touching on the cardinal question posed by E. Ryazanov.

The greatest number of claims were addressed in the article to the editor-in-chief of the chief editorial board of the film programs of Central Television, S. N. Kononykhin, who "received the special attention of Ryazanov both as a figure skater, as a sports judge, and as a simply incompetent person." It is amusing to read in the reply of Central Television being published, signed among others by Kononykhin himself, that, "for the assessment of the competence of S. Kononykhin, it is more important to know something else: He finished the Academy of Social Sciences at the CPSU Central Committee in the faculty of art theory and defended his candidate dissertation." This, apparently, is supposed to substantiate his priority right to make cuts, not only without asking the consent of the authors of feature and documentary films, but even against their categorical protests. "In our youth," it is stated philosophically in the reply, every one of us was fascinated by different types of sport. Figure skating is not the worst of them, especially if we have in view the formation of aesthetic tastes. "One can suggest that precisely for this reason not only everything is simply in order with the aesthetic taste of S. Kononykhin, but much better than with many of us. And in general: Why, following this logic, not open, in the Federation of Figure Skating of the USSR State Committee on Physical Culture and Sports, a department of editors-in-chief not only of Central Television, but also of film studios and literary monthlies of the Union of Writers and publishing houses?

We cannot pass by the episode connected with the visit of V. I. Lenin and A. V. Lunacharsky to the exhibit of abstract art, which, though it was cut by the editors from Ryazanov's broadcast, but was fully reproduced in the letter sent to OGONEK, and thus became property of the masses. It turns out that the point is not the historical fact itself and its present-day interpretation, the prohibitions on which have now been removed, but the issue is who sets forth the facts and where: E. Ryazanov in the broadcast on Central Television—cannot, but the executives of Central Television in the pages of our journal—may? An interesting undertaking!—as certain humorists who often appear on television.

Matters stand analogously with the 7 minutes of the fourth series of the documentary film about V. Vysotsky, which turned out to be cut before airing and served as the reason for the sharp conflict between Ryazanov and Kononykhin. It seems to us that, if the executives of Central Television supported Kononykhin in the idea that these minutes are capable of shattering the world view of television viewers, they should, out of solidarity with us, also an ideological organ, not reproduce the "dangerous" thoughts of Ryazanov in their answer to his article intended for publication in OGONEK. We, of course, are in different weight categories, for whom this is not clear: The circulation of our journal is incomparable with the audience of television. Possibly "our" almost 2 million readers really are permitted to know what 140 million or 180 million television viewers are not allowed to know—but why such "discrimination in

reverse?" And besides in times of broad democratization and glasnost?

In any event, we are only grateful to the authors of the letter for the fact that they nobly decided to conduct the discussion on our territory since both Ryazanov's article and the reply of Central Television were published in the pages of OGONEK. It is terrible to think, but we could at once answer for 180 million! However, this does not mean at all that we are renouncing the all-union air waves. And what is more, profiting by the occasion, we propose to continue the discussion about our common problems on television as well.

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**Workers' Attitudes to Restructuring Surveyed**  
18000649 Moscow POLITICHESKOYE  
OBRAZOVANIYE in Russian No 10, Jun 88 (signed to  
press 14 Jun 88) pp 101-104

[Survey with commentary by Professor V. Ivanov, doctor of philosophical sciences, director of the USSR Academy of Sciences Institute of Sociological Research, under rubric "In the Propagandist's File": "How Is Perestroyka Going?"; first paragraph is introductory]

[Text] The USSR Academy of Sciences Institute of Sociological Research is studying assessments of the progress of perestroyka in labor collectives of various sectors of the economy, particularly industry. We are offering our readers the chance to become acquainted with the preliminary results of a recently conducted survey (assessments and opinions expressed as a percentage of the number of people surveyed).

		1987	1988
01.	<b>WHAT IS YOUR PERSONAL POINT OF VIEW REGARDING THE NECESSITY OF THE RESTRUCTURING GOING ON IN THE COUNTRY?</b>		
	1. It is an extremely necessary measure, called for by the objective state of affairs	86.4	80.6
	2. It is a useful measure, but not all that objectively necessary	7.8	10.1
	3. I do not see any particular need for perestroyka	1.4	3.5
	4. I haven't thought about it, not sure	1.9	3.4
	5. Other	1.1	2.4
02.	<b>HOW WOULD YOU RATE THE RESULTS OF RESTRUCTURING WORK DONE OVER THE LAST YEAR IN THE COUNTRY AS A WHOLE?</b>		
	<b>1. In the economic sphere</b>		
	a) Significant results have been achieved	—	2.7
	b) Certain results have been achieved	—	42.5
	c) Practically no results have been achieved	—	34.6
	d) The situation has actually worsened	—	8.8
	e) Not sure	—	11.4
	<b>2. In the sphere of social policy</b>		
	a) Significant results have been achieved	—	4.7
	b) Certain results have been achieved	—	51.6
	c) Practically no results have been achieved	—	31.7
	d) The situation has actually worsened	—	3.6
	e) Not sure	—	8.3
03.	<b>DO YOU BELIEVE IT IS FEASIBLE TO ACHIEVE THE GOALS WHICH HAVE BEEN SET IN THE COURSE OF RESTRUCTURING?</b>		
	1. Yes, I think so	—	11.6
	2. It's possible, if we strive toward these goals consistently	—	70.3
	3. I doubt it is feasible to achieve the goals which have been set	—	11.9
	4. Not sure	—	6.3
04.	<b>DO YOU BELIEVE THAT IN THE NEAR FUTURE IT WILL BE POSSIBLE TO RAISE LABOR PRODUCTIVITY BY 5-6 PERCENT PER YEAR?</b>		
	1. Yes, I think so	18.9	11.0
	2. It's possible, if we can eliminate inertia and accomplish the planned measures	62.7	67.3
	3. I doubt it is feasible to achieve the goals which have been set	11.5	19.5
	4. Not sure	2.6	2.1
05.	<b>WHAT SHORTCOMINGS DO YOU SEE AT THIS STAGE OF RESTRUCTURING?</b>		
	1. The conditions which would force restructuring have not been created; true restructuring is replaced by just talking about it	68.1	73.1
	2. Local distortions of the essence of restructuring, diverting it away from the basic strategic directions	25.1	33.6
	3. Conscious discreditation of the course of restructuring	3.9	4.5
	4. Other	2.9	8.2
06.	<b>WHAT INTERFERES WITH RESTRUCTURING?</b>		
	1. Pomp, empty facade, deception	18.5	31.8

		1987	1988
2.	Opposition of the management apparatus	6.3	22.1
3.	Insufficient activism of the whole labor collective	23.8	45.7
4.	Absence of incentives or financial interest	21.7	41.3
5.	Inaction and unbusinesslike behavior of the administration	10.6	24.6
6.	Lack of intolerance for stagnation and lack of conviction in the possibility of changes	8.9	18.4
7.	Lack of openness and broad discussion	9.1	12.3
07.	HOW WOULD YOU RATE THE EFFECTIVENESS OF MEASURES TO IMPROVE THE WAGE SYSTEM, AND THEIR INFLUENCE ON RAISING WORKERS' FINANCIAL INTEREST IN THE END RESULTS?		
1.	These measures are very effective	9.8	15.0
2.	Their effect is slight	17.2	29.6
3.	I don't see any changes in the wage system	61.1	31.5
4.	There have been changes for the worse	2.5	13.9
5.	Not sure	8.3	9.9
08.	HOW WOULD YOU RATE THE EFFECTIVENESS OF THE ACTIVITIES OF ORGANS OF COLLECTIVE SELF-MANAGEMENT (COUNCILS OF LABOR COLLECTIVES, SHOPS, BRIGADES, AND SO FORTH)?		
1.	They are working very actively	—	2.7
2.	They have not yet fully proved themselves	—	52.8
3.	The elected Councils are inactive	—	18.3
4.	We have no organs of collective self-management	—	11.1
5.	Not sure, since I haven't been informed about this	—	15.3
09.	HOW IS RESTRUCTURING PROGRESSING AT YOUR ENTERPRISE?		
1.	It is going on very actively	5.1	4.1
2.	The results are not yet certain	57.6	60.0
3.	So far we have not undertaken any true restructuring	34.8	33.6
4.	No answer	2.6	2.3
10.	IN YOUR COLLECTIVE DURING THE LAST YEAR, HAVE RESPONSIBILITY FOR ONE'S DESIGNATED WORK AND PERFORMANCE DISCIPLINE INCREASED?		
1.	Yes, they have increased substantially	19.2	10.6
2.	They have increased a certain extent	37.6	50.6
3.	No, they have scarcely increased at all	20.3	31.6
4.	Not sure	2.8	7.1
11.	ARE THE LEADERSHIP OR THE COLLECTIVE AS A WHOLE MAKING HIGHER DEMANDS ON EACH WORKER?		
1.	Yes, the demands have really been increased	46.1	37.0
2.	The demands have been slightly increased	38.6	37.6
3.	The demands have scarcely been increased at all	12.8	18.2
4.	Not sure	3.8	7.4
12.	DO YOU SEE A CLOSE CONNECTION BETWEEN WAGES AND THE INTENSITY AND QUALITY OF YOUR LABOR?		
1.	Yes, wages directly affect the intensity and quality of my labor	37.5	36.0
2.	This connection is very chancy	38.0	40.8
3.	No, there is no connection	21.4	21.1
4.	No answer	3.0	2.1

Commentary on the materials of the public-opinion survey is provided by Director of the USSR Academy of Sciences Institute of Sociological Research Doctor of Philosophical Sciences Professor V. Ivanov.

The idea of tracing the process of perestroika in development by means of monitoring, or sociological tracking, arose in the collective of the USSR Academy of Sciences Institute of Sociological Research in the course of preparing for the 70th anniversary of Great October. We set the goal of penetrating into the heart of the emerging social processes and phenomena, of revealing the problems and conflicts arising in the course of the radical restructuring of society. The main direction of the scientific quest was to determine the conditions and factors which promote perestroika, and those which retard it.

Collecting and analyzing concrete material on the progress of restructuring and interpreting it sociologically create good conditions for eliminating dogmatism, on the one hand, and wild speculation and hare-brained schemes, on the other. As M. S. Gorbachev remarked in a speech before the leading workers of Uzbekistan, "we have every grounds for saying that the decisive stage in the struggle for the success of perestroika has begun." In order to achieve our goals, it is necessary to have at our disposal sufficiently complete data about this stage. The practical task of our research is to inform administrative organs and the public about the problem situations which are developing, about difficulties arising in the course of restructuring, and its sore points.

Preliminary public-opinion surveys done in 1987<sup>1</sup> had, strictly speaking, a "reconnaissance" nature, and they were clearly not sufficiently representative. Nevertheless, they made it possible to work out a research methodology and resolve certain organizational questions.

The specific methodological nature of the monitoring was such that the survey was conducted only at the largest industrial, transport, and construction enterprises. The degree of representativeness was fairly high—150 enterprises were in the permanent sampling network. Of these, 108 participated in the 1987 research (11,410 individuals surveyed), and 120 in the 1988 research (11,181 individuals surveyed). The question might arise as to why we did not embrace all spheres of society's vital activities, directing the scientific research only toward the sphere of industry. I think we made the correct decision, since the transition to the course of intensive development is connected first of all with restructuring the work of industry and eliminating its lagging behind the worldwide level. It is industry, especially industry producing goods of group "A," which employs the greatest number of working people.

In 1988 several changes were made in the survey used. New questions were added and the old questions were made more precise. The principle of the research remained the same, and this makes it possible to compare the data obtained.

The data presented in the table provide grounds for speaking of the increased constructive force of perestroika. But certain facts call attention to themselves. For example, the still substantial proportion of people who doubt the irreversibility of the process of expanding democratization and broadening openness in our society. The sociological research done in 1988, which embraced 11 major cities of the country, in particular, showed that only 28 percent of the 2400 workers, engineering-technical workers, and employees questioned consider this process irreversible. Forty-four percent hold the opinion that glasnost will develop only up to certain limits, and there will remain certain aspects of the life of Soviet society which it will not touch. In addition, 11 percent of respondents feel that glasnost will shortly subside and we will return to where we were several years ago. Twelve percent were unsure.

In the course of this survey, we even discovered a group of people who believe it is necessary to maintain certain limits in the development of glasnost. They expressed the opinion that open criticism of our shortcomings in the mass information media harms the cause of perestroika and plays into the hands of our ideological adversary. Sixteen percent of respondents were in complete agreement with this assertion and 32 percent were in partial agreement, 30 percent disagreed, and 14 percent had not thought about this problem.

As the survey showed, the majority of working people understand the essence of perestroika correctly, and its organic link with the slogan "More socialism!" For example, 69 percent of respondents noted that democratization means a rebirth and affirmation of socialist values, and development of the principles of socialism. But alongside these there are people who regard the expanded democratization and further broadening of glasnost as a departure from socialism (11 percent), while 14 percent regard it as a borrowing of capitalist methods of economic management and organizing social life.

What conclusions have we drawn as a result of the study?

—On the whole there is no disillusionment or skepticism regarding perestroika. The public consciousness is being freed of euphoria, and there is affirmation of a more realistic approach to its affairs.

—Perestroika is demonstrating its constructive potential to a greater and greater extent. But among the people surveyed there is still a large proportion who do not perceive its results in either their labor collectives or the condition of society as a whole.

—A certain part of the population manifests a lack of trust in the irreversibility of the positive changes which are taking place in society.

—The conflicts and problems of perestroika are standing out sharply.

—The factors holding back perestroika have become more distinct.

We still face the task of analyzing the information obtained in greater depth, as well as getting general assessments and assessments differentiated according to population groups. Nevertheless, the published materials should be of interest to the readers of the journal. Using the results of sociological research in the practice of directing social processes during the period of perestroika has great significance.

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**Roundtable on the Plight of the Georgian Family**  
18130432 Tbilisi AKHALGAZRDA KOMUNISTI  
in Georgian 5 May 88 p 2

[Full-page feature "AKHALGAZRDA KOMUNISTI's Thursday Roundtable" materials prepared by Marine Vashakmadze: "The Family"; first three paragraphs are editorial introduction]

[Excerpts] Hello. Today we present the second edition of AKHALGAZRDA KOMUNISTI's Thursday Roundtable.

The Georgian family is in big trouble today. Of course, it is impossible to deal with all nuances and aspects of this very complicated problem in just one Roundtable. In the future we might devote special Thursday Roundtables to the mother's role in the Georgian family, the father's role, the problem of children's education, abandoned children, and so on.

Participants in today's Thursday Roundtable are Givi Logua, senior teacher in the applied sociology department of Tbilisi State University; Luarsab Iashvili, a professor at Tbilisi State Conservatory; Candidate of Philosophy Valeri Kvaratskhelia, chief editor in Georgian Gosteleradio's Science Center; Otar Katsiadze, head of Saburtalo Rayon's Legal Office; Davit Tsirekidze, deputy chairman of the Saburtalo Rayispolkom; Davit Tevzadze, senior scientific associate of the Philosophy Institute; Baia Khavtasi, junior scientific associate of the Psychology Institute; Ruizan Melashvili and Marine Meladze, both mothers of many children; and Gela Sikharulidze, a father and VUZ student.

[Givi Logua] The problem of the family was never accorded secondary importance at any stage of social life, but it has never been as acute and urgent as it is at this stage. [passage omitted] Values are undergoing revision. The family is changing qualitatively and the Georgian family is especially sensitive in this regard. [passage omitted]

[Correspondent] Let us begin, perhaps, with the demographic problem.

[Baia Khavtasi] There is one thing we have got to keep in mind here: although our divorce rate is relatively low compared to the all-union figure, our birthrate is much lower. To put it simply, Georgians aren't wanting to have children even when they have a stable and serene family.

[Valeri Kvaratskhelia] Population growth is our nation's most troublesome problem. It seems to me there are two main causes: the social-economic and the social-psychological. As for the social-economic, everyone is well aware of it and I will not deal with it at length. I only want to say that anyone who lives on wages today is going to have a real hard time raising five or six children. The aid which the state gives to families with many children is hardly more than symbolic and in fact doesn't change the family's economic situation one iota. Another question is, Why should a man have to count on aid and charity? Why can't he have enough income to raise his own children? As for the psychological factor, this is an issue which requires special attention. It seems to me there are signs of "mass intellectualization" in the Georgian national mentality, and its destructive effects have yet to be fully understood. Our national mentality showed signs of drifting away from reality and from life as far back as last century. Something like that is happening today. Some people may think that Georgians' inordinate striving for a higher education is a good thing, but I don't agree with that. "Mass intellectualization" does not result in the enhancement of our intellectual potential but rather its diminution, and, more to the point, depletion of the nation's life force. This is the explanation for the strange and persistent view that it is better to have one child and bring him up well rather than to have many and raise them less well. This is a mistake, a fatal mistake.

[Davit Tevzadze] Our recent history, unfortunately, developed such that the impermanence and instability of the family was taken to be a core tenet of ideology. I'm not exaggerating. Now, fortunately, we can talk about this out loud. I'm referring to unjustified expectations of communism in which soon there would no longer be any need for that social institution, as children would be cared for by society.... Consider also the Pavlik Morozov cult. My generation was brought up on that cult, which taught us that strong family ties not only could but must be dissolved in favor of an idea. This was a bad mistake—to raise to the rank of heroism a completely unacceptable action contrary to nature and morality. This kind of propaganda, these kinds of measures, resulted in a weakening of family principles. If the family is a social institution and the state's function is to look after its society, then the state ought to take upon itself the family's wellbeing, and the functionaries responsible for that wellbeing should act accordingly.

[Givi Logua] Of course, the Georgian family has its own specific characteristics. It is traditional but not conservative. Reconciling the woman's family and professional roles still remains an acute social problem. Incorrect administration of the emancipation process, following

the man's pattern, has not lightened the woman's burden but made it heavier. This process has taken an alarming turn: woman's emancipation from womanhood results in the loss of woman's womanhood. As our esteemed Irakli Pagava has stated many times, a "mother shortage" has developed.

[Davit Tevzadze] Women have got involved in social labor, and they have no more time for children. Our social consciousness has got to be changed so that we cease looking at women as a force of production.

[Baia Khavtasi] Why do women work? One reason is the economic aspect, while the other is that they need a job in order to have social contacts.

[Correspondent] Undoubtedly. We no longer have the old-fashioned courtyards where women could satisfy their "hunger" for contacts and relationships by constant interaction with other women of the courtyard and neighborhood. I think, nevertheless, that the economic factor is the main thing. Whatever, one thing is clear: a child needs its mother, especially in the first few years of life.

[Baia Khavtasi] A survey was conducted in England. They made a study of the backgrounds of people in jail and found that most of them were not raised by their mothers in the first three years of life. Hence, there are unexplained factors at work here, and by failing to take them into account we are raising potential criminals.

[Otar Katsitadze] Since the subject has turned to crime, you can hardly believe how many young women are in jails and colonies. It's not right when a woman has to go to jail for just 80 kopecks and be removed from her home and children for a long time.

[Otar Katsitadze] Recently there has been a significant rise in the percentage of women involved in what are known as men's crimes—bribery and, if you can believe it, hooliganism and criminal actions. As for the crime of shortchanging customers, I would totally remove from the Criminal Code the article that stipulates punishment for women in such cases. Is it absolutely essential to send a woman to jail?

[Givi Logua] On the subject of aid, I think that the means and conditions of aid to women today ought to be revised. Many enterprises and organizations, including even rather large ones which are on a strong economic footing, are doing nothing to provide real aid for women.

[Correspondent] This problem is something the state should deal with.

[Ruzan Melashvili] We have three children whom we don't see all day. In the morning they go to school, and then they stay in the extended-day group. But these groups do not provide normal conditions for study and rest. How can we raise our children when we hardly even see them?

[Correspondent] Are you going to have a fourth child?

[Ruzan Melashvili] No way. Especially today, when children need so much. The way it turns out, having many children doesn't bring you pleasure and joy but merely adds to your problems.

[Correspondent] But in this regard we probably ought to think about the nation and its future. Fortunately, we are getting a lot of letters about this problem. Mothers of many children are writing in to say that in spite of everything they do intend to have several more children.

[Ruzan Melashvili] One thing you should keep in mind is that all these problems result in the creation of a tense and difficult atmosphere in the home, one which can result in unfortunate consequences for the family.

[Davit Tevzadze] There is, of course, the problem of social security. I don't mean housing, because a man could even tolerate the lack of an apartment if it were not for the fact that everything connected with aid is accompanied by something which is humiliating and insulting to people's dignity. Let's say, for example, that you have some amount of aid coming to you for one of your children. You have to submit all kinds of forms attesting that the child is yours, that he has no other guardian, and so on. For this reason, many people simply reject it altogether. As for housing, I know many men, heads of families, who spend all their creative energies on trying to find an apartment to rent, because no one is going to keep a family with many children for very long. These people are the middle generation, our generation, no longer very young but not old either. We are a lost generation, not enjoying the privileges of young families nor those of the aged. A third problem is wages. A young man can't support his family on his wages. I'm talking about the ordinary family and not those with many children.

[Correspondent] Perhaps a special demographic fund ought to be set up to help us in this regard, a fund such as was proposed by Georgian writers in the press.

[Valeri Kvaratskhelia] It should also be noted that many values have become devalued, and they should not have been. I'm speaking primarily of national traditions. Scientific-technical progress has brought into being a cult of pragmatic life, one which is in opposition to traditional forms of human interaction. Values have become devalued, the measure of morality has changed, high ideals have fallen. We have also lost exalted relationships, so that divorce is easy, even betrayal. And you know what's happened? People's souls have become coarsened and—let's not be afraid to say it—dirty.

[Givi Logua] As a social institution, the family is entering a qualitatively new phase of its evolution. For this reason, today's family is extremely conflict-prone, vulnerable, and fragile as crystal. The scientific-technical revolution has invaded the family and enhanced its standard of living, but it has also introduced a certain amount of disarray. Now this small group is becoming

egalitarian, relations between generations and between married couples are becoming equal. The democratic principle has changed relations based on seniority and subordination. Democracy entails the autonomous status of every member of the family, but this kind of freedom does not mean willfulness or exemption from moral duties. All of this harmonizes nicely with modern democratic relations.

[Baia Khavtasi] A family built on love is more vulnerable and fragile, because the approach to everything here is idealistic; expectations are much greater, hence disappointments are more severe.

[Correspondent] Very often, young people don't understand love correctly. When a family is formed on the basis of infatuation, it is always unstable and easily broken. In this regard, our children are being raised in an absolutely chaotic manner, finding out "the truth" in the streets and on video. No wonder, then, that elementary values are confused. I believe it is for precisely this reason that classes in Family Ethics have been introduced into the schools, although how well they serve their function is open to question.

[Davit Tevzadze] As long as this subject is taught by physics, biology, and history teachers rather than ethics or psychology teachers, it won't do much good.

[Baia Khavtasi] Not enough classroom hours are devoted to the subject. Even the textbooks are poorly written.

[Correspondent] These classes are taught to girls and boys together. Do you think that's right?

[Givi Logua] There is another very serious and difficult problem. The man's authority has declined. Incidentally, the woman used to support the man's authority in the home. She has been the strengthener of his manhood and manly nature.

[Baia Khavtasi] My dear Givi, I have been listening attentively to you and I must say that you are placing all the responsibility on the woman, demanding everything of her. I agree that the man ought to be the head of the household, but it can't be the sole responsibility of the woman. The man should be the real support of the woman and the family. This is essential for the children as well. It has been found that where the man is in charge the children are calmer and more serene. Where the woman is the boss, children are more neurotic, stressful situations arise, and so on.

[Correspondent] One truth is becoming clear in this debate. Both women and men must have their own place in the home, and neither one's role should be excessively exaggerated or belittled. One thing is clear: the father's role in bringing up the children has declined greatly, because men are always too busy.

[Luarsab lashvili] I believe the father should always be the head of things in raising children. He is the one who can be severe, impartial, and exacting. The mother has enough to do taking care of the home and children, feeding and clothing them, keeping them clean—she has enough to do, especially if she has a job as well. Unless the father helps, the mother will really have a tough time raising the children.

[Correspondent] Our dialogue has shown clearly that mothers and fathers are equally responsible in the home, and neither one is exempt.

[Givi Logua] The divorce situation is a terrible one. Even if we go just by statistics, one out of every three marriages breaks up.

[Baia Khavtasi] The rate of divorce went up after economic equality came in. There are two factors here: one is that women are now more independent. Figures show that in the big cities, where more women are engaged in social labor, they are the ones who initiate divorce. In the villages it is the men.

[Givi Logua] Women initiate 70 percent of all divorces.

[Baia Khavtasi] An important factor is the need for adjustment in intimate life. In this case, the intervention of a psychotherapist is essential, , consultation on a lofty and tactful level so that young people do not hesitate to come in for advice. There have been attempts to set up such a consultation service; one was set up in conjunction with the Celebration Center, but it has temporarily ceased operations. Now a special cooperative has been set up in the Psychology Institute, and we hope that it will provide some help to families in resolving such delicate problems.

[Correspondent] Perhaps now we should take advantage of the presence of our government representative, especially since representatives of families with many children are here and have revealed some of their own problems.

[Marine Meladze] I personally can't complain. Everything has been properly arranged for me and I have received aid as well. But I am also aware that there are some specific stipulations on getting benefits, which are available only after the date they go into effect.

[Davit Tsirekidze] This is a factor which hampers us often. Let's say some directive is involved in the case, which is in force from 14 July of a particular year, for example. But how about 10 July, or 20 May? How about people affected by those dates? Life itself has shown that such normative restrictions bother people, and I don't think it's right. Twins are twins, let's say, whether they are born before or after 10 July. As for young families, I took an interest in this matter and was given specific instructions that it is not absolutely essential to take these dates as dogma. I think these issues will be resolved soon and everything will be changed specifically. One

thing I want to emphasize, however: I think there shouldn't be any differences in terms of benefits as regard young families and newlyweds. It turns out that if we do not immediately provide newlyweds with all the state benefits they are entitled to (and this is in fact impossible, owing to their numbers), after a certain amount of time has passed they lose these benefits and become young families. I think this is completely unacceptable, and it ought to be revised as soon as possible.

[Correspondent] At our last Thursday Roundtable we had a mother of five children. She told us her family gets no benefits at all except that she will be able to go on pension five years ahead of time. They are not on the waiting list for a car or a telephone.

[Davit Tsirekidze] All organizations are supposed to handle those cases individually.

[Ruizan Melashvili] What if they don't?

[Correspondent] What specific benefits do families with many children have coming to them?

[Davit Tsirekidze] First of all, they get an apartment out of turn, and I can say with complete certainty that there is no problem in that regard in our rayon. Especially now, when a youth residential complex has been built and those who built it have moved in.

[Correspondent] That's quite a benefit, but are there any others? When it comes right down to it, mothers of many children claim unanimously that they are not getting any real help.

[Davit Tsirekidze] There is, indeed, a lot to be done yet.

[Gela Sikharulidze] What about my problems? I'm a student at the Polytechnic Institute, have three children, and I live in a dormitory. You can see how many problems I face.

[Correspondent] The problem of student families and fathers who are VUZ students probably deserves separate discussion. How can we help Gela? By law, he cannot get a resident's permit. Is he supposed to send his wife and children to the village and live without them for three years? Surely that's one of the big causes of divorce. We're supposed to be helping people.... Our conversation has gone on a long time, and there's no end of problems. Therefore, as I have said, perhaps we ought to plan special meetings for the future to talk about each one of these problems.

06854

#### Georgian Institutions Blamed for Discrimination in Favor of Russian

[Editorial Report] 18130433 Tbilisi AKHALGAZRDA KOMUNISTI in Georgian on 5 May 1988 carries on page 3 under the regular heading "Language Is the Nation's Mother" Levan Gvindzhilia's 1200-word column reproaching Georgian institutions and officials who are remiss in their duty to foster the Georgian language, protect its purity, and maintain its official status. The 19 March constituent assembly which formed the Rustaveli Society emphasized these concerns, which are everybody's business, and so any organization which neglects them should feel embarrassed. The columnist reminds such organizations—the Writers Union, newspaper and journal editors, publishing houses, research institutes, and ministries concerned with the humanities are mentioned—that he has admonished them more than once for "restricting Georgian language use."

Columnist Gvindzhilia cites two recent cases. The Student Scientific Council of the Tbilisi Medical Institute posted an announcement of a conference, the wording of which contained numerous Georgian grammatical errors. But the worst thing was that it stipulated that student papers must be submitted in Russian. Institute Rector Gegeshidze responded to Gvindzhilia's remarks and thanked him for calling attention to the errors, but justified the Russian stipulation by the fact that students from 70 cities of the USSR were to take part, so it was for their benefit. Gvindzhilia counters that Georgian students still ought to be allowed to use their native language. Lamara Kintsurashvili, head of the Institute's Georgian Language and Literature Department, informed Gvindzhilia that they have set up a consultation office to provide advice on grammar and style.

The author of the article states that other institutes are also guilty of neglecting Georgian. He goes on to reproach the Medical Institute's Komsomol organization for distributing questionnaires in Russian only. To be sure, the Institute, like all others, has its Russian sectors, but many students in those sectors are also Georgians and they ought to use their own language.

Brief mention is made of the fact that this column has been omitted lately—many readers have complained about the omission—but Gvindzhilia and the editors will do their best.

06854

### Latvian Popular Front Activities, Goals Discussed

#### Initiative Group Members Comment on Goals 1800000? Riga SOVETSKAYA MOLODEZH in Russian 14 Jul 88 p 3

[Interview with members of the initiative group by Olga Avdevich and Yelena Vlasova: "The First Step Has Been Taken"; date and place not given]

[Text] It would have been hard to imagine that the small room in the offices of the Latvian Women Filmworkers Union could hold so many people. Probably those who organized the meeting did not even expect such "numbers." There was not a single empty chair, people stood in the doorways and hallways and perched on the window sills. A window pane midway of the wall seemed to be all aflame with the rays from the sun. Then add the brilliant light from the extremely hot banks of television lights. It is no simple matter, you will agree, to sit in such an atmosphere 5 hours straight. Yet people did not go away. Scientists, journalists, workers, representatives of the creative unions, of the church, of informal associations—they had all assembled here to discuss the idea of creating a Popular Front.

Today, no one doubts the indispensable need for a popular democratic movement to support restructuring, but what kind of platform it will have, what structure, objectives, what forces, and what principles to which it will rally people—disputes have been raging about all of that.

The meeting became a parade of ideas.

It resulted in creation of a temporary initiative group of 11 persons, including representatives of various social groupings. The very makeup of the initiative group indicates the democratic approach to organizing the new movement: there is both a delegate of the party conference and a Lutheran priest, both a representative of the permanent assembly of representatives of workers' councils and also a leader from the informal associations...

A few questions for the members of the initiative group.

Vladimir Bogdanov, leader of the club of socially active people.

[Question] What do you see as the tasks of the Popular Front?

[Answer] To be brief, consolidation of constructive political forces, their participation in the political process, and—ultimately—creation of guarantees of the irreversibility of restructuring. This must be a democratic institution capable of acting against any manifestation of conservatism. The very idea of the Popular Front envisages the people's real participation in the electoral process and monitoring the work of the deputies. At present, all of this has only a verbal existence.

We have practically no democratic traditions. And we have to learn democracy right from the ABC's. Even today we sometimes sense a faint note of hostility toward one another, certain ambitions. All of that has to be overcome, and we have to define the zone of permissible compromise for ourselves.

[Question] Today, there were many widely differing and sometimes opposite opinions expressed. Whose conception, in your view, is the most acceptable?

[Answer] The speeches were diverse and at times they were too muddled. Right now there are many leaders, much eloquence and rhetorical devices. When what we need is sound argument and specific channels for effort. I think that in time everything that is petty, just for the moment, and nonsensical will be sifted out. We have to get away from those who fling themselves into civic activity in order to earn political capital. The Popular Front will, of course, unite the most widely differing forces—some more to the right, some more to the left. But the main thing is unity on the fundamental issues, and if necessary—a search for a reasonable alternative.

The next question was for Viktor Avotynsh.

[Question] And is there the readiness for creating the Popular Front?

[Answer] The Number One task today is to pick people up and liberate them. All strata of the population have to express their attitude toward the idea of the Popular Front. We need to seek out not maximalist solutions, but effective and realistic solutions that are applicable today. The time has come to make the transition to other forms of effort. From rallies and demonstrations to forms of practical activity, to training, and to research.

[Question] What kind of program do you see for the Popular Front?

[Answer] It is early to speak about the program now—we are at the very beginning of the road. The platform worked out by the republic's scientists seems to me the most reasonable one. This is a businesslike version, and it proposes five specific directions: strengthening the republic's economic sovereignty, restoring health to the moral and ethical relations between man and society, environmental protection, monitoring the observance of rights and freedoms established by the Constitution and the UN Declaration of Human Rights, and on the basis of all that—creation of the guarantees of the irreversibility of restructuring and democratization.

[Question] The very word "popular" has recently lost its original meaning. "Popular government," "the people's property," "people's control" are essentially considered to be such in name only. What are the guarantees that the Popular Front will be authentically popular?

[Answer] First, the Popular Front is not an ethnic, but a multinational movement. No manifestations of discrimination are permitted here at all, any discord must be nipped in the bud. I emphasize that this is not an organization, but a movement into which all forces supporting the program will flow. I think that here there should be no membership, no dues (except voluntary donations). The front does not need a bureaucratic staff. People have to be liberated so that they take direct part in their own institution, kolkhoz, or plant. Let them perform their own vital tasks without being hindered from above by some administrative body of the front.

[Question] And if the performance of those tasks should be held back at the local level?

[Answer] Here is an example. A rural soviet is unable to solve a particular ecological problem in its rayon. The Popular Front will keep its eye on this issue and will help with people, with specialists.

Or a Komsomol member is unable to overcome the bureaucratic barrier in his organization. Then through the Komsomol members who are members of the Popular Front we will put pressure on the Komsomol bureaucrats.

[Question] The fiercest debates in the party conference were about the slogan "All Power to the Soviets." What is the attitude of the Popular Front toward the question of official power?

[Answer] The Popular Front must work in close contact with the soviet, and they must perform tasks jointly. It will be able to put forward its own deputies where necessary, to insist on their nomination, to monitor in detail the process of nomination and elections so that they are truly democratic.

[Question] Won't the Popular Front be an alternative party?

[Answer] Ideas of a "shadow cabinet" have been expressed more than once. That is not the way out. I am a member of the party. And if I face the choice—the party or the Popular Front?—I think I would stay in the party.

[Question] The initiative group has been created. What is the next step?

[Answer] It is important now to find out the attitude of all the people toward the idea and the program of the Popular Front, to determine the forces which will take part in the movement, and possibly to create a universal forum to which the question of establishing the Popular Front can be put. Today, there are a great many ideas, proposals, and opinions. This is valuable. But some of them are too abstract. If the transition is to be made from words to deeds, the person advancing an idea must be ready to become the one who carries it out.

**Readers' Comments on Platform Sought**  
18000007 Riga SOVETSKAYA MOLODEZH in  
Russian 14 Jul 88 p 3

[Open letter signed by Petars Blums, architect; Vladimir Bogdanov, worker, member of the club of socially active people; Yuris Dimiters, artist; Arnold Klotinsh, musicologist; Marina Kostenetskaya, writer; Dina Kupre, actress; Yanis Rukshans, journalist; and Iiris Freymannis, professor]

[Text] The process of restructuring and democratization which has begun in our country has invigorated all the inhabitants of the republic regardless of nationality and social position. There is an ever fiercer popular protest against the tension that exists in the republic concerning the questions of ecology, the economy, politics, and ethnic relations. The bureaucrat is experiencing a crisis of confidence. The time has come when everyone must define his civic position in deeds, guiding spontaneous manifestations of creative activity into a single new streambed. A further polarization of social forces has been observed in the evaluation of these processes, just as occurred at the 19th All-Union CPSU Conference. The way the process of democratization and glasnost is going in society is resulting in ever broader dissatisfaction of the people with the principles of leadership which were at one time engendered by Stalinism and exist in real terms to this very day.

We, who represent different nationalities and social groups, call upon the citizens of Latvia to unite in the POPULAR FRONT. The Popular Front is a democratic movement whose aspirations, in our opinion, might come to be the following:

1. Guaranteeing the irreversibility of the process of restructuring and democratization.
2. Achievement of the economic independence, sovereignty, and statehood of Latvia.
3. Practical achievement of the rights and freedoms proclaimed in the USSR Constitution and the UN Declarations of the Universal Rights of Man.
4. The moral and ethical rebirth of society on the basis of general human values.
5. The necessary protection of the environment for the healthy development of the individual and the people as a whole.
6. Creation of feedback between society and soviets of people's deputies.

We feel that the policy which up to now has been conducted by the republic's government and party along all these lines has given rise to a critical situation. The situation cannot be saved with the old undemocratic methods of leadership. There is a need for creative activity of the entire people, a competition of ideas

within the framework of socialist pluralism. The people's creative activity has to be united with a competent conceptualization of the situation and the working out of alternative solutions. The tasks of the Popular Front, for example, might come to be the following:

1. Enlistment of specialists in various fields and formation of specialized commissions that would study the various problems of Latvia and would draft proposals supporting them.
2. The organization of referendums and surveys of the public on issues touching upon the fundamental interests of all the citizens of the republic or inhabitants of particular regions.
3. The alternative nomination of candidates in elections in an atmosphere of authentic competition, which would help in advancing those deputies who deserve the people's confidence.
4. Monitoring the activity of administrative agencies to see that it is in the interests of the people and conforms to legislation, and the active opposition of all violations.

We feel that participation in this movement must not restrict the membership and freedom of action of other groups and organizations.

The temporary initiative group is calling upon specialists of various fields and public organizations as well as every citizen of Latvia individually to present their proposals and take an active part in the creation and activity of the Popular Front in order to jointly work out the design of the structure and the draft of the program of objectives.

The temporary initiative group intends to put together all the proposals which are made, to work out the design for the structure and the draft of the platform, and to do the necessary work preliminary to convening a congress for establishment of the Popular Front.

#### **Readers Comment on Popular Front Platform**

18000007 Riga SOVETSKAYA MOLODEZH in Russian 23 Jul 88 p 3

[Letters to the editor: "Please Take My Opinion Into Account"; first paragraph is SOVETSKAYA MOLODEZH introduction]

[Text] On 14 July SOVETSKAYA MOLODEZH published the appeal of the initiative group of the Popular Front and invited readers to discuss its platform. In the past week we have received a great number of responses from readers. The letters are very diverse. One can agree with them and support them, one can dispute them or refute them. We are publishing some of them today. In order to represent the range of readers' views, we have

selected letters containing the most differing points of view, sometimes even mutually exclusive. We will continue the publication of readers' thoughts about what the Popular Front will be like.

#### **Letter of Antonina Barashikhina**

I support the idea of creating the Popular Front. But at this point we cannot drag out the discussion and wear ourselves out talking. People may simply "burn out." The energy of the people has to be channeled as quickly as possible into specific deeds. Let it even be a Saturday when supporters of the front might get to know one another, establish contacts, get together in small groups and meet the movement's leaders.

I fully support the idea that the party must not lay claim to leadership in the Popular Front. Let the party have an opportunity to criticize the front, and the front the party.

With the resolution of the plenum of the LaSSR Writers Union as the basis, sections have to be formed to solve specific problems in the areas noted. At first, these must be small and realistically doable tasks and deeds that have escaped the attention of other organizations. Unless there are results and tangible fruits—people will run away.

And something more—the Popular Front needs its own publication in which there would be a group to work with letters. That newspaper should be published in both languages at the same time (like RIGAS VILNI).

#### **Letter of A. Lebedev, Ventspils**

The Popular Front seems to me a force capable of imparting to restructuring the features of irreversibility. If restructuring is to be guaranteed in the economy, I think it is necessary for all managers of enterprises and leaders of ministries to be immediately put up for reelection in accordance with the Leninist principle: "To manage, one must be competent, one must know fully and precisely all the conditions of production at its present level, one must have a certain scientific education." Restructuring cannot be guided by those who at one time learned by heart "Tselina" and "Malaya Zemlya."

I consider it one of the principal measures to guarantee democracy to remove all restrictions on glasnost on the basis of Lenin's statement: "We need full and truthful information. And the truth must not depend on the person whom it is supposed to serve."

One of the tasks on the road toward the party's rebirth as a Leninist party seems to me to be changing the now current treatment of the concept "democratic centralism" to what Lenin meant by it: "Without freedom of discussion and criticism the proletariat does not recognize unity of action."

By way of concrete ideas for the treasury of the Popular Front I propose shutting down the plant in the port of Ventspils as an ecologically harmful chemical enterprise located in the center of the city. Some thought might well be given to using its facilities, say, to create a power station using wind power.

**Letter of Rudolf Lotyn**

The situation that exists in the country and the republic unfortunately provides examples quite often that the command-bureaucratic Stalinist system is still holding strong to its positions and operating confidently. I have been a member of the CPSU since 1955. I have repeatedly had occasion to come up against the double-dyed indifference of bureaucrats and the most flagrant violations of the CPSU Bylaws by leading party officials. The idea of the Popular Front has inspired me with hope that it is possible to conquer this monster—bureaucracy. We party members must take part in the Popular Front and fight for its prestige.

**Letter of Sergey Rudchenko, Balvi**

I read the appeal with great care. I support the movement's tasks and aspirations. These are complicated tasks. Their performance will encounter great difficulties if not a struggle. It will be especially complicated in the interior, where restructuring has still not affected either the ispolkoms or the raykoms or the administrative staff. By and large, everything remains as it was. And the isolated individuals who are restructuring themselves "do not create the atmosphere." There really is a need for a powerful movement—a front—which would be able to get something moving and get rid of some things at the local level. But the front needs leaders from among those people who will go to the end for the cause of the movement without looking or thinking "what they will get for it." The Popular Front will be able to stand up for its leaders. I believe that.

[Editors] Because of limited space in the newspaper we are unable to include here all the letters in which readers support the idea of creating the Popular Front. We will be continuing the publication of readers' responses. But so as not to form the opinion that creation of the Popular Front is enthusiastically accepted by everyone, we are giving space to those who categorically oppose the very idea of the front. In the solid pillar of letters from readers there were three such letters. Two of them are anonymous.

**Letter of Ivanov (address not given)**

My opinion is that many newspapers published in Riga, including SOVETSKAYA MOLODEZH, are attempting to shape public opinion by sifting out those opinions which do not suit them. I feel there is no need to create the Popular Front in Latvia. We have a single ruling party. We have popular rule. Why make it popular twice? It is clear that this movement plays into the hands of

"well-wishers" overseas, since it could create an opposition to popular rule. If this movement gets off the ground, then it will be difficult to guide.

**Unsigned Letter**

I categorically oppose the Popular Front! The 19th All-Union Party Conference clearly designated who should be concerned with what: the soviets, the procurator's office, public organizations.... So why do we need yet another monitoring agency? It will only interfere in someone else's activity and give rise to unnecessary discussion, chaos, and buffoonery, it will cause disorganization and will become an impediment. Specialists, with the leadership of soviets and party bodies, will themselves gain a grasp of the situation. The main thing is for them to honorably perform the functions assigned to them.

**Letter of A. Moiseyev**

There is no line of demarcation of social forces at all in the party and in the people. With the exception, perhaps, of a certain stratum of intellectuals who would like to enter the public arena through the Popular Front or something else of the kind. One wonders who is hindering the leaders of informal associations and the so-called Popular Front from displaying themselves in Komsomol, in the trade unions, in the work collectives where they work? It seems to me that there is one reason here: these organizations operate under the influence of the party, and that is what they do not want! Slogans about restructuring, democracy, and glasnost are for them only camouflage.

[Editors] The discussion is continuing. SOVETSKAYA MOLODEZH invites readers to take part in the discussion.

**Appeal to Latvians To Join Popular Front**  
18000007 Riga SOVETSKAYA MOLODEZH in  
Russian 20 Aug 88 p 1

[Press release of the coordinating center of the Popular Front]

[Text] In the offices of the LaSSR Artists Union (Ulitsa Kr. Barona 12; telephone 284735) the coordinating center of the Popular Front (or Democratic Movement) has been in operation since 8 August. From 1800 to 1900 hours on workdays activists of the initiative group are on duty here, they collect information about groups in support of the Popular Front springing up in the cities and rural rayons of the republic and they provide consultation. Such groups are now operating already in Riga, Rizhskiy Rayon, Yelgava, Rezekne, Sigulda, Tesis, Yekabpils, Stuchka, and Liyepaya. At many places, according to information available to us, they are in the process of being organized. Saldusskiy Rayon, where some support groups have already joined together to form a unified rayon organization of the Popular Front and have advanced a specific program of action, can serve as an example of the businesslike attitude and purposefulness.

The letters addressed to us contain quite a few proposals and wishes. They confirm that the Popular Front has quite a few potential activists. But they have not all defined their clear place as yet in the process of organizing the Popular Front and its further activity. The unprecedented vigor of public opinion needs to be transformed into deeds of equal vigor. That is why everyone must ask himself: What can I myself do to realize in practice those basic transformations which were expressed in the documents of the 19th All-Union Party Conference and the plenum of the republic's creative unions? People of like mind should be sought out in the enterprise where you work and where you live. And move on to specific deeds. Pinpoint the closest and most immediate tasks of your support group of the Popular Front—those which need to be essentially dealt with, not according to schemes proposed by the bureaucracy.

Respond, inhabitants of the rural rayons of Latvia! Join the movement for the Popular Front! Without the broad support of progressive forces it is not possible to reorganize the structure of the republic's economy. Agriculture must become a priority sector in the republic's economic mechanism in actual deed, not just in words.

The higher the level of professional competence of the activists of the Popular Front, the more authoritative our movement will become. It is very important to involve in the effort economists and lawyers not only in Riga, but also in other cities and rural rayons. They will be able to provide consultation to local support groups. The coordinating center also needs an aktiv of lawyers, economists, philosophers, sociologists, and other specialists. They could take on functions in popularizing the movement, explaining and popularizing the tasks and the meaning of the Popular Front in society. We need typists, specialists in the Russian language able to translate the information materials of the coordinating center. Respond if you have the time. There is work for everyone, there is a great deal of organizational work ahead—the convening of the founding congress of the Popular Front.

Along with the organizational process, there is an ongoing effort under the supervision of leading specialists to draft the program and bylaws of the Popular Front, which at the end of August will be put up for general public discussion. This program will define the position of the Popular Front on political, legal, ethnic, economic, demographic, ecological, and cultural matters. The bylaws will determine the organizational structure and place in public life, the rights and duties of members, and relations with other informal associations. The resolution of the plenum of the republic's creative unions has been chosen temporarily as a program of action and basis for consolidation. The most immediate goal is to convene the founding congress of the Popular Front. Everything needs to be done to hold it in September and for delegates in all regions of Latvia to be represented at it.

### Reader Support for Political Activity of Popular Front

18000007 Riga SOVETSKAYA MOLODEZH in Russian 26 Aug 88 p 1

[Article by A. Piven, scientific associate: "Politics? And Why Not?"]

[Text] I warmly support the idea of creating the Popular Front. I read with interest the selection of responses to the appeal of the initiative group of the Popular Front (SOVETSKAYA MOLODEZH, 23 July 1988). I would like to make several proposals.

First. In view of the broad social makeup of the proposed movement, the collaboration within it of people with different convictions, I think that a single publication would not be enough. After all, the periodical of the Popular Front is not only an information leaflet, but also a place for discussion, and a relationship with government agencies and a kind of "connective tissue" binding together participants in the movement from the republic's various regions.

An important area of the Popular Front's activity is nomination of candidates to be deputies in soviets, to people's courts, and all the way to the Supreme Court. Moreover, not by the geographic and production principle. I think that the Popular Front must also possess legislative initiative. All of this requires changes in the legislation now in effect.

There is no question that the Popular Front cannot fail to set itself political tasks. Here, for example, is what Indrek Toome, secretary of the Estonian CP Central Committee, has to say: "The party's Central Committee has supported the Popular Front precisely as a movement affording the possibility for all strata of the population to take part in restructuring alongside and outside the party. Some people have had doubts about what would happen if the Popular Front began to engage in politics? It will do so. This is inevitable: there is no part of our life that is not politics" (MOSKOVSKIYE NOVOSTI, 31 July 1988).

And as a matter of fact, why should Soviet citizens not engage in political activity? Neither the Constitution nor other laws prohibit it; on the contrary, they appeal to citizens to take an active part in running the government. And let the citizens themselves choose the forms of that participation. The Popular Front itself can be one such form.

As for responses from the readers, the editors should not be too cheerful about the small number and anonymity of OPPONENTS of the idea of creating the Front. I think that there are many of them. And the methods they fight with need not be letters to the newspaper....

**Latvian Editor Assesses Goals, Functions of Estonia's Popular Front**  
18000623 Riga SOVETSKAYA LATVIYA in Russian  
13 Jul 88 pp 2-3

[Article by Oskar Gerts, deputy editor, TSINYA: "On the Wave of Restructuring: Different Impressions on Various New Moods in Estonian Society and its Activity"]

**[Text] In our time, that of restructuring, nobody wants to live the old way. Among our northern neighbors, one of these waves of renovation is expressing itself in the support for the new mass movement that has appeared there—the Popular Front of Estonia.**

**Every Wave Has a Beginning**

Where did it come from, when and why has this wave appeared? Did the article "On the Experience of Fraternal Countries. Is the Creation of a Democratic Union Imminent?", by B. Kurashvili, doctor of juridical sciences, published in MOSKOVSKIYE NOVOSTI on 6 March, which many considered to be the origin of the idea of a Soviet Popular Front, really serve as the stimulus? Let us look at this article:

"...We have no social formations that unite people according to social and other interests—those citizens, who do not belong to the party and are already too old for the Komsomol. Such a function, according to the example of a number of socialist countries, could be fulfilled by a democratic union."

"An organization of this type exists in almost all socialist countries: the National Front in the GDR and Czechoslovakia, the Fatherland Front in Bulgaria and others. They differ in many respects, yet have in common the fact they unite on a socialist and patriotic basis different political parties (...), social organizations and movements... Thus, the Fatherland Front unites almost all adult citizens of the NRB."

Undoubtedly, such an appeal could and does attract many people. However, more essential, perhaps, is the fact that the long lack of natural social activeness and self-expression has affected people. A desire has been aroused in people to personally participate in political life, to be involved in resolving the processes occurring in society and to actively contribute to renovation. The people have sensed a real opportunity to become participants in the process that we call revolutionary restructuring.

Early April, at the Supreme Soviet meeting hall in Estonia, the joint plenum of the boards of the creative unions began, in which in the course of 2 days all the problems which had accumulated in society and required solution were emotionally, but also practically, discussed together with experts. It was then that thoughts on the need for a universal popular democratic movement in support of restructuring was openly voiced.

Two weeks later this idea found specific expression. On the evening of April 13, the "How to Use Citizens' Initiative?" was discussed on the Tallin television show "Think Again," in which Edgar Savisaar, former head of the Department for Long-Range Planning and Allocation of Production Forces of ESSR Gosplan, one of the originators of the idea of converting to republic cost-accounting, presently deputy director of a Minlegprom institute, candidate of philosophical sciences, made the proposal of forming a Popular Front of Estonia. All of the discussion participants and organizers supported him, and yet another proposal was made: not for everyone to go home at that late hour, but to stay at the studio and work that night to draw up a program of action. In the morning the declaration of the Popular Front, consisting of 12 points and signed by 16 members of the organizing body, was sent to the Estonian CP Central Committee and ESSR Supreme Soviet Presidium.

The next day, the Tallin organizing body had already been joined by the Tartu organizing body, headed by Maryu Lauristin, university department of journalism head, docent, candidate of philological sciences, and by Victor Palm, head of the organic chemistry department, academician, professor. A week later, representatives of organizing bodies were invited to the Supreme Soviet Presidium and, after yet another week—to the Central Committee. On the morning of April 30, the Tartu newspaper EDAZI (and later the local newspaper VPERED) printed the declaration of the Popular Front and late that evening a special television program was aired, specifically concerning this front. There is more. At the May Day demonstration people were already carrying banners expressing solidarity with the ideas of the newly appeared Popular Front in support of restructuring.

What does this new social trend stand for? Edgar Savisaar answered this most precisely in the introductory article published in VESTNIK NARODNOGO FRONTA, No 1, published in magazine format in 4 pages by the temporary organizing center of the Popular Front of Estonia, with 4,000 copies in Estonian and 1,000 in Russian. Let us note two paragraphs from this article:

"The Popular Front in support of restructuring is being shaped as a national democratic movement, promoting the unification of the minds and wills of people living in Estonia under the flag of restructuring. Today a sharp crisis of trust exists in Estonia and it is particularly important to restore the people's faith in the power of the people, to avoid errors in directing the processes of democratization and to support in all ways the CPSU's course toward the renovation of our society, openly and without demagogic. We see our own mission as that of ensuring the irreversibility of restructuring and the transformation of Estonia into one of its outposts in the Soviet Union."

"The Popular Front will participate in the development and practical implementation of a program for social development in Estonia and for the progress of culture, education and ethnography. It will make suggestions

concerning the comprehensive development of the republic's economy and social life and the holding of public discussions and referendums, and will participate in forming representative agencies. Without substituting for the soviets in their work, the Popular Front will ensure constant communications between the voters and the deputies. The task of the Popular Front is to support the deputies, to ensure in elections the nomination of candidates whom the people trust, and to make for an effective and interesting pre-election campaign. The Popular Front will require in elections that the candidates undergo a public competitive situation, will verify the observance of laws and will not permit manipulation of election results."

Here, however, figuratively speaking, the first under-and above-water rocks in the path of the new movement appear: it wants to have the same functions that other social institutions—the party, soviets of people's deputies, and social organizations—are already fulfilling. Therefore, a reaction against the new movement has also been observed in society.

#### Counterwaves Against New Waves

Above all, one must realize how complex the activities of the Popular Front or any social movement could turn out to be, if it does not in particular take national and international fine points into account. Only after this, through extensive explanation, persuasion and with the proper organizational efforts by party committees, will one succeed in "putting everything in its proper place..."

However, it would seem, the well-known contradictions can also appear in the Popular Front's interrelations with other organizations, for example, with labor collective councils. For instance, collectives at the "Dvigatel" Plant imeni V.I. Lenin, the Electrical Equipment Plant imeni Kh. Pegelman, the Civil Aviation Administration and many other places have definitely supported the new movement with its vitally important goal—promoting the restructuring of society. However, "special opinions" have sprung up in the workers' collectives, opposing separate formulations of the program. Thus, the collective at the "Dvigatel" Plant, while supporting the Popular Front in principle as a form of self-management of the people, has sent an open letter to all the republic labor collectives, stating the following considerations:

"The primary organizers of the Popular Front should not be support groups, but labor collective councils, the rightful representatives of the working people, able to solve economic and social problems, to make decisions and to bear responsibility for them in front of their own collectives."

"As far as economic activities are concerned, the Popular Front should not limit itself only to such large-scale problems as full republic cost-accounting, but could also take up the solution of everyday problems, for example, protecting the population from the continual growth of

prices, inflated by individual enterprises under the pretext of conversion to cost-accounting or production of "particularly fashionable" items, and monitor the work of some cooperatives and trade organizations which are illegally making incredible profits on the deficits caused by the "shadow" economy, as well as other such issues that affect the living standards of working people."

In turn, the Tallin unit of the Soviet Committee of War Veterans has considerations of its own. It believes that if the Popular Front supports restructuring, it ought to rally, according to possibility, everyone living in Estonia—workers, peasants, the intelligentsia, labor and war veterans, servicemen, as well as party, social and soviet organizations, without any distinctions regarding nationality. The Popular Front should define clear political goals and a strategic line which arises not at all from the documents of the plenum of the creative unions, but from the resolutions of the 27th CPSU Congress. It is impossible to fully agree with the so-called main idea of the Popular Front, which is too narrow and reflects the views of representatives of a small group of the intelligentsia, and not the interests of the entire people and of all nationalities. In the veterans' opinion, the program for the front's sociopolitical activities contradicts article 19, section 3 of the ESSR Constitution, which stipulates that "the state promotes the strengthening of social homogeneity in society—the erasure of class distinctions and of the essential differences between city and countryside, mental and physical labor, and the universal development and convergence of all peoples and nationalities of the USSR."

However, the interrelations with the party proposed by the Popular Front program are even more unacceptable to the war veterans. In accordance with the USSR Constitution, the CPSU is the leading and guiding force of society, the nucleus of its political system and of state and social organizations. Consequently, the party should also be the nucleus of the Popular Front. Today, the front's organizing body asserts that the Popular Front should not be subordinate to any organization or agency whatsoever, from which the veterans are concluding that the front wishes to stand above the party and constitutional authorities (soviets), that it is tending away from recognizing the party's leading role in our society.

True, the Popular Front wants to be completely independent. Therefore, its initiators in Estonia must clarify and explain their goals. In Tartu, university representatives have already formed a collective lecturing bureau, the representatives of which speak on the following topics: the Popular Front (NF) and democracy, the NF and the struggle against Stalinism, the NF and national relations, the NF and our political system, the NF and economic reform, the NF and the party, the NF and cost-accounting in Estonia, the NF and protection of memorials of antiquity, as well as a number of other subjects topical to various audiences. Temporary organizing center member Maryu Lauristin himself answers the numerous fundamental questions raised by the republic newspaper RAKHVA KHYAEL:

**How come the Popular Front does not follow the resolutions of the 27th CPSU Congress, but is guided in its political platform by the materials of the joint plenum of Estonian creative unions?**

**Even in the movement's first declaration, it was stated that the purpose of the Popular Front is to work actively to support the course of restructuring proclaimed by the CPSU. Therefore, there can be no question that we support the resolutions of the 27th Party Congress. We are relying on the materials of the joint plenum of the creative unions because, in our opinion, precisely there the sore points of the republic's life were most accurately named. It is inane to formulate the question in such a way that support of the resolutions of the joint plenum allegedly excludes supporting the party congress.**

**Why does the Popular Front reflect only the views of a small group of the intelligentsia?**

**This question indicates only ignorance or simply a distorted interpretation of the information. Today half of the support groups are groups in production.**

**Is not the main trouble the uncertainty regarding the relations of the Popular Front with residents of the republic of other nationalities?**

**The Popular Front unites all people living in Estonia: participation in the movement is not restricted either by party membership, by belief or by nationality.**

**How come the Popular Front does not publish its own program on the national problem anywhere, how come there are only individual theses?**

**The Popular Front does not yet have a definitively drafted program: there are only working theses. Today national issues are being carefully studied. This program, it goes without saying, will take into consideration the specific features of the national republic, yet this will be done in such a way that there will be no national inequality.**

**Unfortunately, today many of those coming to live in Estonia do not realize that, having come here, they have crossed a state border, they have come to a sovereign union republic with its own national distinctions, which must be taken into account. However, we are striving for cultural autonomy for representatives of all nationalities living in Estonia, and to have an opportunity to create our own culture here, in the land of our republic, so that cultural contacts based on equal rights will arise among peoples... The attempt to represent the Popular Front primarily as a national front is a provocation.**

**The representatives of 115 nationalities live in Tallin, and the road to the Popular Front is open for all of them. However, non-Estonians are offended by the term "migrant," which is equivalent, as it were, to the designation of an "uncultured, poorly educated and low-skilled newcomer."**

**True, not everything is proper with our terminology. "Migrant" is frequently used to refer to a non-Estonian. However, not every non-Estonian is a migrant, just as not every migrant is a non-Estonian. An Estonian who has come to the city from a village is a migrant, strictly speaking. Migrants are first-generation immigrants. Not all people of a non-native nationality living in Estonia are migrants.**

**There is nothing embarrassing about the scientific term "migrant." Of course, there are both uneducated and uncultured immigrants among migrants, yet these words are not synonyms.**

**How come the Popular Front is not subordinate to any agency or organization whatsoever? Why is it stated in the published materials of the Popular Front that the party will influence this movement, but not play a leading role in it?**

**The Popular Front is a democratic movement, supported by civil initiative. The conviction that the people and their initiative ought to mandatorily be subordinate to someone or something originated in the times of stagnation. At that time, such a viewpoint was typical and the only one possible. Party leadership does not always mean organizational subordination to the party. In our declaration it is actually stated that the influence of the CPSU will be ensured through democratic methods, relying on the political authority of communists who join the Popular Front and their abilities of persuasion. The only true path for a democratic popular movement is to resist attempts by the bureaucracy to preserve and revitalize the dogmas and forms of administration characteristic of the era of stagnation.**

**Why do the theses of the Popular Front stipulate that leadership functions in its agencies cannot be combined with leadership positions in party, Komsomol, trade union or state systems?**

**I believe that by way of explanation it will suffice to cite examples from existing sociopolitical systems. After all, in an enterprise one and the same person cannot simultaneously be both party organization secretary, as well as trade union committee chairman. However, this restriction does not prevent leadership workers from participating in the work of NF support groups.**

**The workers have suggested that the Popular Front not limit itself to problems of republic cost-accounting, but include other topical economic problems in the area of its interests as well.**

**At the foundations of the Popular Front's economic platform lies the idea of converting the ESSR to full cost-accounting. This does not indicate that support groups within this framework cannot set immediate, specific goals for themselves with regard to specific features of their own enterprises, cities and rayons. Of course, there are obvious limits here. It would not be quite proper, if the NF started seeking some way, for example, to repair the ventilation in one particular shop or another.**

What is more correct? Whose side is the truth on? What are the optimal paths of action? Many cannot yet say. After all, the entire process, the entire movement has only just begun.

### A Niche for the Popular Front

In ecology, every species of plant and animal has its own niche. This is precisely the state of affairs with every social institution in the corresponding social structure. What is the new movement's place?

We discussed this with Viktor Vakht, ESSR Supreme Soviet Presidium secretary, and, above all, we also took a look at the Constitution.

As everyone knows, the political system is an aggregate of organizations and means which provide for political leadership and the management of society. The foundation of our political system is defined: the party and the state and social organizations—trade unions, the Komsomol, professional, creative and volunteer unions, societies and associations, cooperative organizations and labor collectives. In which "niche" does the Popular Front belong?

For the time being, Viktor Vakht sees a place for it only among independent social bodies, which lack their own centralized system, their own funds and many other parameters. Comrade's Courts, councils of veterans, people's volunteer detachments, women's councils, parents', building, street and block committees and other independent formations already exist.

However, these are not a component part of our political system! They exist only under the political system. Thus, for example, in the Law on Elections to Local Soviets of People's Deputies, in accordance with article 100 of the USSR Constitution, it is plainly and clearly stated: "The right to nominate candidates for deputy belongs to agencies of the CPSU, trade unions, the Komsomol, cooperatives and other social organizations, labor collectives, as well as to assemblies of servicemen in military units." And that is it!

However, the initiators of the Popular Front have proclaimed "All Power—to the Soviets!" as their main slogan and consider one of the most topical tasks of the movement to be energetic activity during the elections of people's deputies. Item 7 of the front's declaration thus stipulates: "The basic directions and forms of the activity of the Popular Front are the organization of the cooperation of voters and deputies (meetings with deputies, inquiries, etc.), participation in election campaigns (nomination of candidates, compilation of mandates, etc.), presenting reports and offering suggestions to soviet agencies, the public discussion of resolutions and drafts, preparation of referendums and others. The Popular Front actively participates in

improving the electoral system and in transforming voters' clubs into constantly acting public instances. Representatives of the National Front participate in the work of voters' committees."

Thus, this is an entire set of functions which the Constitution and the law now firmly guarantee to soviets of people's deputies and to constitutional social organizations. Why should these be given to the Popular Front? Might this not in this regard turn out to be a duplication of many efforts, albeit also good? Could it not turn out that the Popular Front and its "staff," acting especially actively and tendentiously, will turn the "election wheel" in the direction it itself desires and strive to elect only those people advantageous to it? Holding itself aloof from the party and becoming particularly active when the soviets of people's deputies are being formed, might not the Popular Front become some kind of "party-less party" and thus disrupt society? These are questions that everyone ought to think about today, albeit for the time being there is still nothing but declarations, resolutions and statements.

Undoubtedly, the people can change their own constitution and laws as they see necessary and fit. They can find a place for the Popular Front in their own political system along with social organizations. In this a case, it is another matter. Yet until then, it must above all prove itself in practice.

Moreover, its tasks—stirring up social aspirations and the forces of entire peoples, groups and strata, and inspiring people to struggle for the restructuring of our life—are topical for the party as well. As Yevgeniy Doronin and Donald Visnapuu, deputy chiefs of the ESSR CP Central Committee Department for Work Organization, inspector Anatoliy Uralov, and instructor Aleksandr Stolyarov, have emphasized: "The ideas of the Popular Front have aroused the people and unleashed initiative and a desire to work."

Here is one example. In Tallin, the construction of a new library was going successfully. However, a problem came up with laying a cable over a distance of more than 2 kilometers. The builders reported that they would need 2 more months to do this. The organizing bodies found out about this and one splendid evening after 17:00 hours, on an appeal by the Popular Front, about 2,000 people showed up at the route with music, flags, shovels and crow-bars. With two people per meter, they had dug a deep trench by twilight. Further delay occurred only because of the builders, who did not manage to provide the cable as quickly, yet at last it appeared. By 2:00 that night the job had been completed.

Pavel Panfilov, Tallin Party Gorkom secretary, also acknowledged in a conversation that the Popular Front could become a creative force, democratizing and mobilizing society.

In the secretary's office we met a deputy who had come there asking: "What should I do?" The organizing body of the Popular Front had invited her to report and talk about her deputy activities. Pavel Panfilov advised her: "You must mandatorily go!" Naturally, Popular Front groups currently have no right to demand a report from a deputy, but as her constituents these people can suggest or request this. It follows to do so in terms of purely tactical considerations: communists must participate in the Popular Front, the party must restore its ability to fight for its own power, the authority of its influence in the masses, and its convictions, words, actions and positions.

This movement is striving to manifest itself in society as a Popular Front in support of restructuring, therefore its first "commandments" should be advanced by the party, the 27th Congress, the 19th Party Conference, and by restructuring itself and renovation.

While I was in Moscow at a conference of the republic's delegates, the temporary organizing body of the Popular Front held a meeting in Tallin at Pevcheskoye Field, at which about 150,000 people gathered.

The theses of the delegation's platform included the following: "It is considered just, that under the conditions of democratization of social life the growth of political activeness of workers and youth be expressed in the forms of different movements in support of the development of socialism. We must determine the status of social organizations and other forms of manifestation of civil initiative, and that of the legal guarantees for their participation in the development of a political course and the management of social and state affairs."

The 19th All-Union CPSU Conference has supported it, and our partners in competition and neighbors in territory, as was obvious and perceptible, are already taking this path.

#### In Latvia as Well

Upon returning home, I read in TSINYA of June 27 that, on a suggestion by a number of labor collective councils and the Committee of Youth Organizations of the LaSSR, a meeting of scientists, representatives of war and labor veterans' councils, labor collectives, women's councils, and social and religious organizations and formations had already been held in Riga, which planned to create a working group and study proposals for supporting the party line in restructuring and for the organizational structure of a new movement.

So, this wave—an analogous democratic movement—has also begun to rise here in Latvia. What path should we move it along? In which forms should we display it? How specifically should we work?

We have many wise minds and ardent hearts and, apparently, each will have his own considerations, aspirations and desires. Yet all the same we can hardly be unified without without a definite axiom.

Our highest goal should be active participation in improving the republic's economy, carrying out of the reform of the political system, further democratization of social life and the development of glasnost.

Moreover, the acceleration of the solution of vital problems of the national well-being, above all, those of the social reconstruction of the countryside and the considerable improvement of the food supply, saturation of the market with various goods and services, as well as the intensification of the volumes, rates and qualitative improvement in housing construction, the maintenance of existing housing in proper condition, and providing for strict monitoring of fair housing distribution.

Much must be done in spiritual life as well: we must assist in every possible way the development of the people's spiritual culture, their intellectual and moral potential, and the strengthening of the principles of the socialist and internationalist way of life of the republic's working people.

No one can stand aside from problems such as the unconditional assurance of the protection of the surrounding environment and the improvement of the ecological situation.

All of this is impossible without ensuring the more complete realization by the citizens of their possibilities and rights, guaranteed by the Constitution in the development of self-management and the improvement of social control in various areas.

Familiarity with the Popular Front of Estonia and information about the Popular Front of Lithuania and about social movements in Moscow, Irkutsk, Yaroslavl and other regions makes it possible to delineate those forces which today would be able to move in a unified flow. This could be the Komsomol and the trade unions, labor collective councils and cooperative formations, creative unions and volunteer societies, or various independent social formations and religious organizations, as well as the communists, already joining these social institutions, who would be able to play a leading role in this movement.

In the future the movement, constitutionally recognized, would possess rights: legislative initiative; participation in development by state agencies of national economic, social and cultural programs; the nomination of their own candidates for local and higher authorities of the republic; representation in the legislative and executive bodies which monitor the implementation of resolutions passed by these authorities; to conduct work in the study of social opinion on the needs of the population with a subsequent address to state, soviet and party authorities with suggestions on ways to implement them; to conduct general political measures, within the framework of socialism, for the principles of socialist way of life; to organize mass social work related to improving the

ecological situation; to organize public services and amenities in cities, settlements and the countryside; to construct cultural memorials; and to carry out philanthropic measures.

The range of these rights would be expanded in proportion to accumulated work experience.

Thus, we can actually assert our own real patriotism in practice. For this movement in both essence and name must be patriotic, highly upholding the honor of Soviet Latvia, of the land of the soviets and of socialism, sparing no efforts whatsoever for their well-being.

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**Latvia Offers National Minorities Education in Native Language**

[Editorial Report] 18000017 Riga SOVETSKAYA LATVIYA in Russian, 24 August 1988, carried on page 4 the following announcement:

*"Dear Parents and Students, Representatives of the Belorussian, Polish, Jewish, Lithuanian and Other National Minorities Residing in the Latvian SSR!"*

"If you wish to have your children receive their instruction in school in your native language or if students wish to study their native language on their own, we ask that you send in a written request to your local soviet of people's deputies rayon/city ispolkom department of education by 1 November 1988.

"The Latvian SSR Ministry of Education together with the departments of education will carefully study your statements and will make a decision on the feasibility of introducing instruction for national minorities in the Latvian SSR secondary schools in their native language beginning with the 1989/1990 school year.

"Another possible alternative is: at your request, your children can receive their instruction in either Latvian or Russian, and study their native language in school as an option.

"We look forward to your wishes and suggestions.

(Signed) *The Latvian SSR Ministry of Education*"

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31 Oct 88